

Sri Lanka's
enforced
peace

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IN THESE TIMES

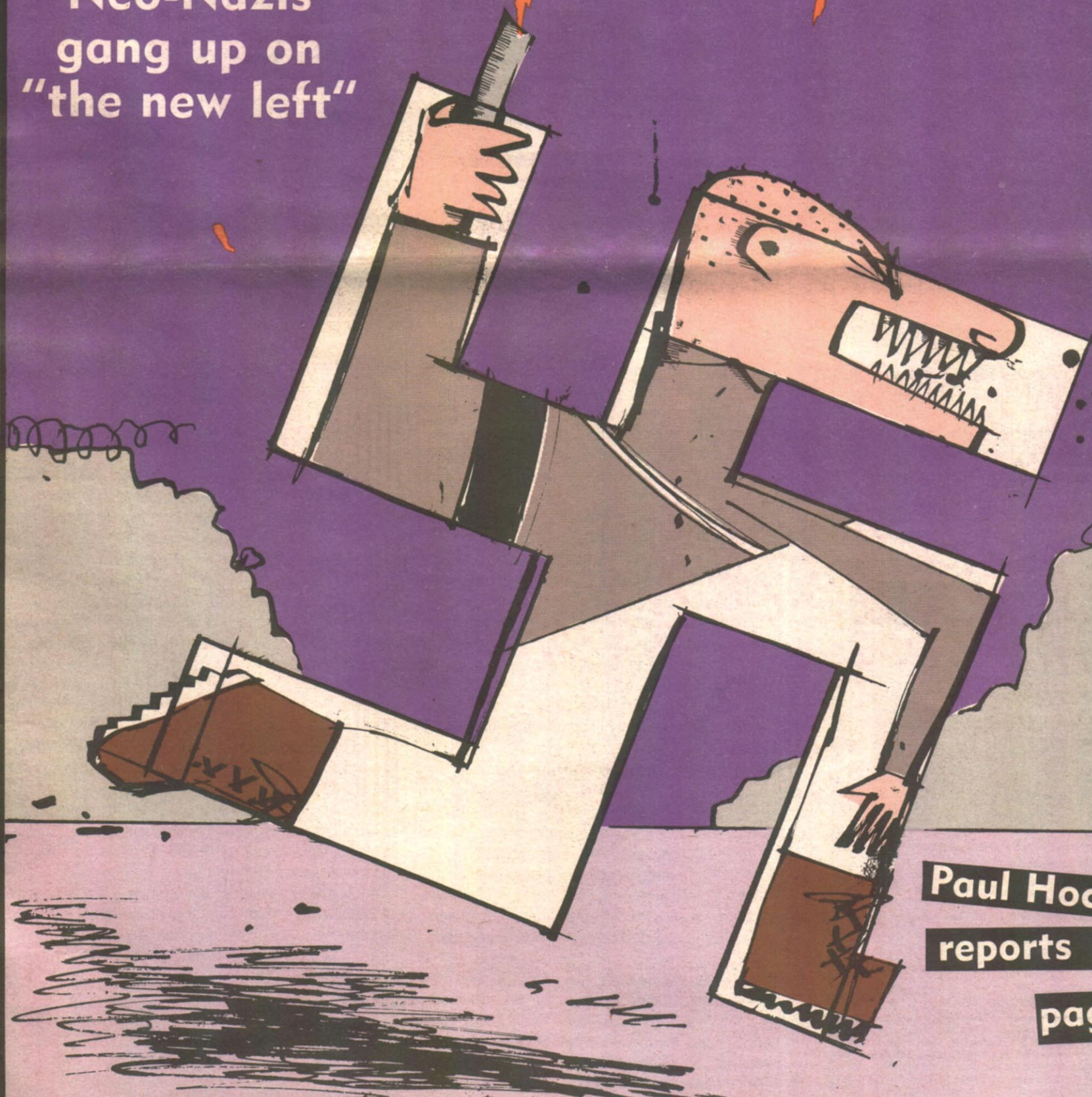
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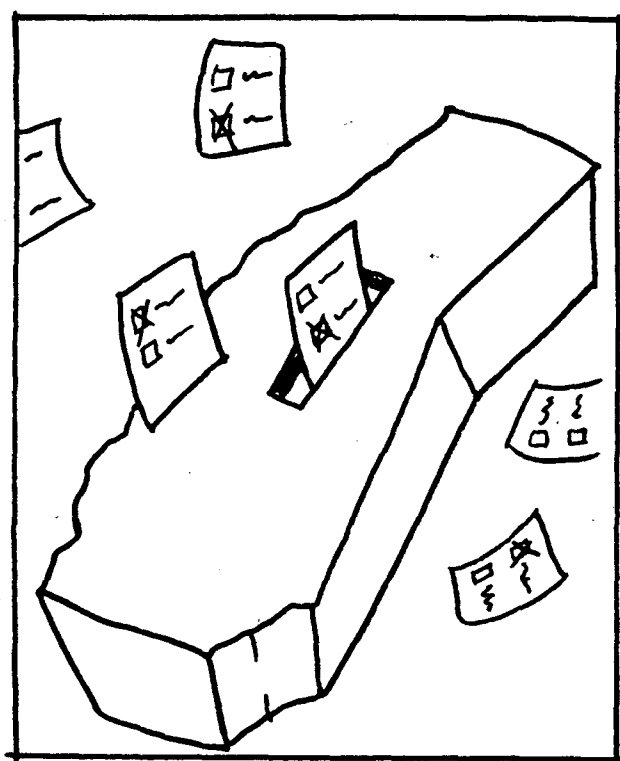
All the Rage in East Berlin

Neo-Nazis
gang up on
"the new left"



Paul Hockenos
reports

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Slim pickings in California race

By Gary Rivlin

SAN FRANCISCO

The death penalty, California's John Van de Kamp once said while testifying before the U.S. Senate, is a "barbaric" act. But Van de Kamp wasn't running for governor then in a state where recent polls show that as many as 80 percent of residents favor the death penalty.

Embroided in a tough primary race with former San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein, Van de Kamp campaigns for the death penalty with an unnerving gusto. He has tied his campaign to a ballot initiative that aims to widen the scope of crimes eligible for a death-penalty verdict. His campaign literature boasts that as the former district attorney for Los Angeles he placed more defendants on death row than any other prosecutor in state history. Van de Kamp held one press conference against a backdrop of pictures of each of the 42 death-row inmates his office prosecuted.

Van de Kamp's supple stance on the death penalty cuts to the central question in the California governor's race, touted throughout the state and across the country as perhaps the 1990 campaign season's most significant race. Feinstein has earned the eternal enmity of just about any Californian to the left of liberal. But is Van de Kamp,

running for governor as the incumbent attorney general, a better candidate?

The initiatives behind the man: A trio of initiatives that will appear on the ballot this fall stand as the pillars of Van de Kamp's campaign. The one dubbed "Big Green," sponsored by Van de Kamp with several major environmental groups, offers voters perhaps this country's most sweeping environmental package. Among other things, the initiative sets tough new pollution standards and phases out those pesticides that studies link to cancer.

Another ballot proposal, the "clean government" initiative sponsored by Van de Kamp and Common Cause, includes a provision that sets limits on the years served by state legislators and statewide officeholders. If nothing else, it demonstrates that Van de Kamp is not afraid of challenging the entrenched Sacramento establishment.

The third initiative, which addresses crime, proposes raising funds by stripping existing business tax deductions to pay for an anti-crime package that calls for building more prisons. A full 40 percent of this money is designated for drug treatment and prevention.

Van de Kamp's campaign has tied up both money and staff in seeing that each of the three initiatives makes the ballot—no small sacrifice when Feinstein revealed she plans on spending \$1 million a week on television in the campaign's final weeks.

Though the strategy may be too subtle in an era of style over substance, Van de Kamp's initiative strategy underscores that he has been the more issue-oriented of the two candidates. At a recent breakfast for Teamster officials supporting her candidacy, Feinstein's speech focused almost exclusively on the horse race: how she overcame an 18-point Van de Kamp lead, her media strategy and the like. Feinstein spoke of her "vision," but she went no further than saying she was pro-death penalty, pro-choice, pro-education and pro-labor. She mentioned a 33 percent statewide high school dropout rate but ended the point there. (Actually, the rate is around 20 percent.)

(In explaining how she caught Van de Kamp in the polls—as of mid-May, polls showed the two neck and neck, with a full 25 percent of the voters still undecided—she failed to mention the \$1.3 million loan from her husband, an investment banker, that accounted for two-thirds of the money she raised in 1989.)

Yet neither of the two campaigns stresses any issue except those required of any California politician: the death penalty, the environment, crime, drugs and abortion. Van de Kamp's "Big Green" addresses California's aggressive development credo by calling for the planting of trees, yet he says little about the ever-widening gap between the haves and the have-nots in a rich and bountiful state.

In a recent campaign swing through San Francisco, Van de Kamp demonstrated the limits of his message in a speech he gave on the so-called "peace dividend." Throughout the '80s, profligate defense budgets drained money from health care, training programs, community-development funds and other social programs. Yet he chose to focus on the out-of-work engineer and the defense contractor needing to make the transition to civilian production. Any part of the dividend coming to California, he said, should be earmarked for contending with the job loss in a state that receives 17 cents of every federal defense dollar.

Contradictions: Van de Kamp's greatest liabilities are born of his role as attorney general. For five years running, Van de Kamp defended Gov. George Deukmejian's cut of Medi-Cal funding for abortions for poor women. Similarly, though he says pregnant teens should be allowed abortions without parental consent, he has fought against that position on the state's behalf. It is his sworn duty as attorney general to defend the state in matters before the court, Van de Kamp says by way of explanation.

On other issues, Van de Kamp has proven himself more bold, such as the landmark agreement he helped negotiate restricting development at Lake Tahoe and his successful court battle against the merger of two of California's largest supermarket chains. After the 1986 passage of an anti-toxics initiative (Proposition 65), Van de Kamp fought the governor and industry representatives seeking a relaxed interpretation of the measure.

Prop 65 offers one of the many contrasts between Van de Kamp and Feinstein. State Assemblyman Tom Hayden, who led the fight for 65, told the *San Francisco Chronicle* that Feinstein initially endorsed the measure but later asked that her name be removed from the campaign literature. Perhaps it's only a coincidence that she changed her position after a well-publicized meeting with Chevron executives. And in 1988, when consumer groups pushed for insurance reform through ballot initiatives, Feinstein sided with the insurance industry.

Feinstein offers a Governor's Council on Homelessness as her answer to the homeless issue; Van de Kamp proposes a Homelessness Prevention Program, modeled on a similar program in New Jersey, that would provide short-term grants and low-interest loans to families threatened with eviction. Van de Kamp supports the state's automatic cost-of-living adjustments for welfare recipients. Feinstein will not commit on the issue, saying she wants no sacred cows. "Measure the man by the enemies he makes," Van de Kamp advises. The oil and chemical industries top his list, he says—and then points out that representatives from that same list have endorsed Feinstein.

Feinstein's election as governor in the country's most populous state would certainly be a significant milestone for women. But glitches in Feinstein's record on women take some of the patina off that prospect. Feinstein, for instance, boasts in her campaign literature that, as mayor, she "increased pay through comparable worth" for women. Yet as mayor she sided against the comparable-worth package when it was put to a citywide vote, citing the extra budgetary burdens.

Feinstein speaks of an explosion of growth turning the California dream into a nightmare. Yet anyone thinking

INSIDE STORY

she seeks checks on growth misses her point: she seeks a growth-management plan that anticipates consequences such as increased traffic on California's highways. Feinstein's 10 years as mayor of San Francisco are a testament to her enthusiasm for downtown business development. ("The most extreme case of gentrification in the nation," one planning expert told the *San Francisco Bay Guardian*.)

Candidate Feinstein offers a few token liberal programs to complement the tough anti-crime message that is her campaign's centerpiece. She favors increased state aid for child care and has proposed "California Jump Start," an early-education program aimed at at-risk youth. Yet Feinstein is as ambiguous in her means for paying for these programs as Van de Kamp is specific. In addition to closing corporate loopholes, he poses raising the personal income tax rate on Californians who make more than \$100,000 a year.

Chances are: Either Van de Kamp or Feinstein will face U.S. Sen. Pete Wilson in the November general election. That may be the strongest argument in favor of Feinstein. Those on her bandwagon argue that Feinstein, as the more moderate, telegenic Democratic contender, stands the better chance of victory in November.

If her performance in a recent debate is any consideration, those putting forth this argument have a point. Feinstein was as personable and confident as Van de Kamp was dampened and dull.

Adding to the weight of that argument are eight years of Deukmejian's slash-and-cut policies. "If not Feinstein," Teamster leader Bob Morales said at a Feinstein fundraiser, "then it's another eight years of a conservative governor."

Less is more

With this issue, dated May 23-June 5, 1990, we begin our bi-weekly summer publication schedule. See you in two weeks.

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White House presides over decline of U.S. industry

By John B. Judis

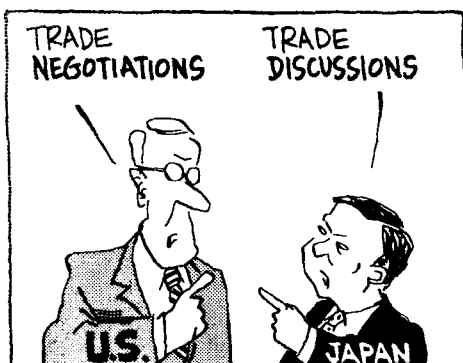
WASHINGTON

WHILE CROWING OVER THE TRIUMPH of Western capitalism, President George Bush continues to preside over the decline of U.S. industry—taking one step after another to ensure that American manufacturers will not be able to compete with their European or Japanese rivals.

Bush and the White House troika in charge of economic policy—Chief of Staff John Sununu, Budget Director Richard Darman and Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers Michael Boskin—are dismantling any vestiges of industrial planning left over from the Reagan administration, quashing the few closet progressives within the Cabinet and civil service and frustrating congressional attempts to reduce the trade deficit or oversee foreign investment.

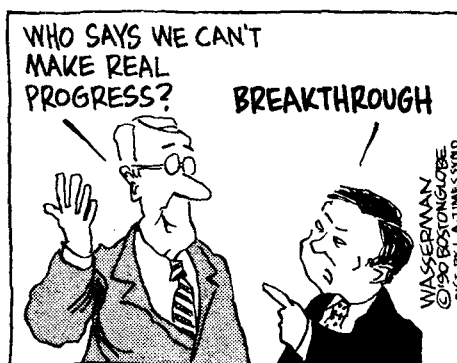
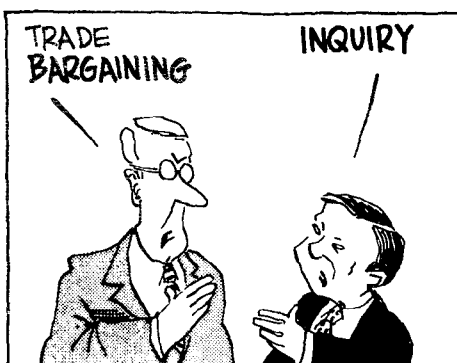
Last fall, the administration curtailed Commerce Department attempts to fund high technology and, during the winter, the troika rooted out any hint of government planning from Energy and Transportation Department initiatives. Now the administration has gutted the one federal agency that is still funding high-tech efforts—the Pentagon's Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency, or DARPA.

On April 20, DARPA's highly esteemed director, Craig Fields, was informed by his superior, Deputy Secretary of Defense



Donald Atwood, that he was being transferred. As former Undersecretary of Defense Robert Costello said later, Fields' transfer was for "political rather than personal reasons."

Venturesome Fields: DARPA, founded in 1958 after the Soviet launch of Sputnik, has always funded technologies with dual civilian and military uses. One Massachusetts Institute of Technology scientist estimated recently that about the half of the \$400 billion



U.S. computer industry could be traced to the \$1 billion that DARPA had invested over the last 25 years.

Fields, a 43-year-old computer scientist who joined DARPA 16 years ago and was made director last year, was moving DARPA toward funding predominantly civilian initiatives under a redefined concept of national security. DARPA repeatedly gave \$100 million a year to SEMATECH, the Austin, Texas-based consortium that is developing a new

manufacturing process for computer chips. And last year Fields allocated \$30 million to research on high-definition video display.

Fields also was determined to maintain American control of U.S.-based high-tech firms. He was finally transferred after investing, at the suggestion of Armed Services Committee Chairman Sam Nunn (D-GA), \$4 million in the Silicon Valley-based Gazelle Microcircuits, Inc. Gazelle was developing electronics circuits made of gallium arsenide, the high-speed material of choice for

U.S. industry is increasingly unprepared to compete with Japanese and European firms, especially in high technology.

the next generation of supercomputers. A Japanese firm was ready to fund the cash-short Gazelle, but under terms that reportedly would have allowed the Japanese to use Gazelle's discoveries. DARPA's funding preserved Gazelle's independence, and perhaps that of the U.S. supercomputer industry as well.

Deputy Secretary of Defense Atwood strenuously objected to DARPA's investing in a project that had no immediate military uses and that the Japanese were ready to finance themselves. (He was backed up by the White House troika, who, having shot

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Frivolous trade negotiations in three hollow acts

In a May 2 speech, U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills called on American policymakers to forget their trade disputes with Japan. "An overemphasis on Japan and the trade deficit skews the public's knowledge," Hills proclaimed.

Hills' declaration followed the conclusion of trade negotiations with Japan under the "Super 301" provision of the 1988 Omnibus Trade Act. Under this provision, Japan was cited in May 1989 for unfairly restricting U.S. exports of supercomputers, satellites and wood products. If Hills had been unable to win Japanese agreement to open their markets to these products, she would have had to declare Japan an "unfair trader" and initiate sanctions. But on April 26, the Bush administration announced that it had won sufficient concessions from Japan.

The U.S.-Japan trade talks, like those on the Structural Impediment Initiatives (SII), have largely been hollow exercises. The Super 301 talks followed a familiar three-act pattern of U.S.-Japan trade negotiations:

Act One: Japanese industries, subsidized by government and assured of a captive home market, produce goods that begin to rival those of American and European firms. To win market shares in the U.S., they sell these goods below their price in Japan, driving many of their shortsighted American competitors out of business.

Act Two: The remaining U.S. industries, charging Japan with "dumping" goods on the American market, mount a furious

campaign in Washington to get the administration to restrict Japanese imports and to force the Japanese to buy their exports. Under intense pressure from Japanese lobbyists and convinced that any departure from free trade will wreck the international economy, the administration dillydallies. Finally, it comes up with innocuous trade measures.

Act Three: The Japanese nevertheless react furiously to the administration's trade measures, threatening to rupture relations. Negotiations ensue between the two countries but are initially stormy. Finally, the countries' leaders meet and iron out an agreement. By this time, five to 10 years have passed from the initiation of hostilities. When the Japanese now promise to remove trade barriers they no longer have to worry, because they have equaled or bettered their competition and have driven many of their competitors out of the market altogether.

Act Two of the Super 301 negotiations began in the early '80s, when a host of American industries began lobbying for strong trade legislation that would open foreign markets and prevent dumping in the U.S. Finally in 1988 they got Congress to pass the Omnibus Trade Act. When the Bush administration took office, the same industries, from auto parts to semiconductors, lined up to get their cases reviewed under Super 301. But under pressure from Japanese lobbyists, the Bush administration cited Japan for only three products, omitting some of the most contentious, such as semiconductors.

While the Japanese were secretly pleased, publicly they had a fit. "The government of Japan has no intention of entering into negotiations with the United States under the conditions imposed," said Minister of International Trade and Industry Hiroshi Mitsuzuka. Several months later negotiations began, but they reached a stalemate by February. After a special meeting between the heads of state, the two sides reached an overall agreement and Japan was welcomed back to the ranks of fair and free traders.

The affected industries, however, got little out of the deal. Take, for example, supercomputers, the key industry in the trade negotiations. Act One began in the early '80s, with the Japanese unwilling to buy vastly superior supercomputers from Cray and Control Data, while their government provided a captive market and subsidies for NEC, Hitachi and Fujitsu to create a Japanese supercomputer industry. In 1987, matters came to a head after a Japanese trade official tactlessly admitted that the government had no intention of allowing any agencies or universities to buy U.S. supercomputers.

More acrimonious negotiations ensued, and an agreement creating open bidding for public-sector contracts on supercomputers in Japan was hammered out in July 1987. After the agreement was reached, Japanese government agencies purchased 29 supercomputers, only two of which were American, while the Japanese private sector purchased 75 supercomputers, 18 of them American.

Meanwhile, the Japanese firms sold their inferior supercomputers in the U.S. at immense 70 percent discounts, helping to drive one of the two American producers, Control Data, out of the supercomputer business. (The Bush administration agreed to list supercomputers in its Super 301 complaint.)

In the agreement reached last month under Super 301, the Japanese agreed again to open government bidding for supercomputers and to stop dumping their supercomputers in the American market. The U.S., in turn, agreed to stop advising universities to purchase Cray supercomputers.

The clear winner in this agreement was Japan. As Stas Margaronis explains in the industry newsletter *SAM TRADE*, the agreement is unlikely to affect Japanese purchasing because the Japanese companies "have all improved their computer technologies in recent years and will claim that quality and performance factors mandate that the Japanese systems be chosen over American systems in most computer purchases." Meanwhile, the Japanese will be aided by the U.S. government no longer prodding universities to buy American.

In another decade, there may not be a U.S. supercomputer industry and Carla Hills, who thinks the trade deficit is over-emphasized, will probably be back working as lobbyist in Washington for Japanese and South Korean companies.

—J.B.J.

By Joel Bleifuss

FAIR game

Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR), the New York-based liberal media watch group, spent part of last year tuned into *The MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour*, analyzing what public TV puts on the airwaves. What FAIR observed between Feb. 6 and Aug. 4, 1989, was essentially a bunch of good ol' boys from Washington, D.C., talking about their Beltway world as if it were the news. The sorry details can be found in *All the Usual Suspects: MacNeil/Lehrer and Nightline*, a 24-page report written by Boston College's William Hoynes and David Croteau and released this week by FAIR. The study was delivered to the *MacNeil/Lehrer* offices by FAIR with the following note attached: "*MacNeil/Lehrer's* narrow, pro-establishment guest list mocks the original mandate of public television. The Carnegie Commission Report that gave birth to PBS [Public Broadcasting System] urged that public television 'be a forum for debate and controversy' and 'provide a voice for groups in the community that may otherwise be unheard' and to 'help us see America whole, in all its diversity.' On these points, public TV's *Newshour* has utterly failed. Much of *MacNeil/Lehrer's* coverage—its selection of newsmakers and experts—is even narrower than commercial TV [news programs like *Nightline*]."

Go team! During the study period, *MacNeil/Lehrer* featured seven programs on Central America—two on the Salvadoran election, two on aid to the contras and three on the Panamanian election. All of the shows' 22 guests were men, and all of the U.S. guests were white. All 22 were current or former government officials, and all of the foreign government officials featured were supportive of U.S. policy. Cut out of the *MacNeil/Lehrer* guest list were voices from the then-Sandinista Nicaraguan government, the leftist Salvadoran opposition and the Panamanian government of Gen. Manuel Noriega.

A united front: *MacNeil/Lehrer's* news coverage is equally one-sided on the environmental front, possibly because so much of public television is underwritten by large corporations whose only environmental service involves the lips. During those six months in 1989, *MacNeil/Lehrer* featured 16 environment-related stories. Those 16 stories featured as guests 17 white American males—11 government officials, five corporate representatives and one environmental leader. As FAIR explains, "Environmentalists know that to fully assess ecological destruction one has to 'follow the money.' For journalists, this can pose problems. Tracing environmental damage back to the corporate and industrial organizations that benefit [profit] from weak environmental protection laws might result in pressure from corporate advertisers or underwriters. Even when environmental stories are covered, the role of corporate polluters is often obscured. As Ralph Nader has noted, 'Look at all the stories on the destruction of the Amazon rain forest. Do you ever see the names of any multinational corporations mentioned?'" *MacNeil/Lehrer's* July 4, 1989, story on Brazil's Amazon rain forest was no exception. The show featured four stories on the Exxon oil spill in Alaska; all of the guests for those stories were either government officials or corporate representatives. "Exxon Chairman Lawrence Rawl apologized for the spill but downplayed its impact on the oil industry," writes FAIR of the fourth report. "Rawl's appearance was 'balanced' by Alaska Governor Steve Cowper, who, while criticizing the oil company consortium responsible for cleanup plans, argued that 'the chairman of the board of Exxon, I think, has been too heavy on his own company. ... Obviously Exxon's skipper caused this accident, but after it took place, I think that Exxon did a good job under the circumstances. I really do.'"

Simply not true? In response to the FAIR report, *MacNeil/Lehrer* Executive Producer Lester Crystal issued the following statement: "We agree with FAIR that diversity is important. It is a fundamental objective of our program to have a wide range of responsible views and people on the *Newshour*. We clearly can and should do better in that regard and will continue to work hard at it. ... We are criticized by FAIR for not having criticism of the establishment and for having one-sided discussions. This is simply not true. The problem is that FAIR is chiefly concerned with having its own bias represented." According to FAIR Executive Director Jeff Cohen, the views of people at FAIR are a lot closer to those of the average PBS viewer than to the dominant bias of PBS news programming. Cohen is blunt about his agenda. "Our goal is to get TV viewers to become media activists, especially PBS viewer-donors. As the bureaucrats at PBS know, their audience tends to be independent thinkers. It's those viewers who are abused by the one-sided *MacNeil/Lehrer* news presentations. We are hoping that this study will spark a direct dialogue between PBS viewer-donors and the network's news programmers and bureaucrats."



Hazel Johnson stands in front of a mountain of waste she'd like to move.

Hazel Johnson: talkin' toxics

By Jim McNeill

On Chicago's far Southeast Side, the 110-story Sears Tower hides in the haze of the distant horizon. Down here a different corporate monolith—a mountain of waste called the Calumet Industrial District (CID) landfill—defines the city's skyline.

To its owner, Waste Management, Inc., the world's largest garbage hauler, the ever-expanding mound of trash bears proud witness to company growth and profit. But to Hazel Johnson, this waste heap is simply the most visible problem afflicting the citizens of Chicago's most polluted district.

How polluted? Johnson describes the area around Altgeld Gardens, the Southeast Side public-housing project where she has raised her family for the past 28 years, this way: "West of us is Acme Steel. South of us is a landfill in Riverdale. Right across from here is Waste Management's hazardous and domestic landfill. East of us we've got a Ford plant that's doing a lot of damage too. North of us is [Waste Management's] hazardous-waste incinerator. Then we've got PMC, a food-preservative manufacturer that's dealing with a lot of chemicals. And then we have Sherwin-Williams paint company...."

"This is one isolated area that's been forgotten for too long a time," says Johnson, the 55-year-old founder of the Southeast Side's People for Community Recovery (PCR) and one of the nation's most prominent black environmentalists. From downtown Chicago it takes almost two hours by train and bus to reach Altgeld Gardens, a black community of 6,000. Although its two-story tenements avoid the human-warehouse feel of the Chicago Housing Authority's notorious high rises, the cracked curbs and faded brick facades remind you that this is CHA turf—where the average family of four sur-

vives on less than \$5,000 a year.

In the center of Altgeld Gardens sits the Gardens Plaza, a squat, semicircular building that partially defines a broad concrete courtyard. Its brown-painted cinder blocks are spattered with graffiti. A few withered trees are beginning to put on leaves.

Most of the building's storefronts are closed. Even the small PCR office, burglarized in late March, is shuttered. The windows at the Gardens Plaza supermarket next door are bricked up. Not that it needs the windows for posting sales. As Johnson warns and heedless visitors discover, "The prices there are terrible."

While Altgeld residents battle the vagaries of urban poverty, their hardship is compounded by the community's proximity to the debris of our industrial society. Johnson emphasizes the extent of that waste as she picks up a thick stack of microfiche cards. "This is the IEPA's [Illinois Environmental Protection Agency's] list of all the chemicals generated and disposed of here on the Southeast Side. They say there's 286 different chemicals in our air. The IEPA says it's concerned with 108 as possibly cancer-causing."

Although Johnson's toxic litany sets a somber tone, the PCR office resists that mood. The office is as much community center as environmental clearinghouse. Children scurry in and out, and persistent laughter counteracts any looming ecological dread. Anti-smoking signs plaster the walls—yet everyone except Johnson is smoking. The PCR office exudes a mix of humor and defiance, an aura that is partially explained by the history of its founder.

Death in the family: Born Hazel Washington in New Orleans in 1935, Johnson was the only one of four children to live beyond infancy. Her father died when she was three. When she was 11 years old, her mother was diagnosed with tuberculosis and

Johnson was sent to St. Peter Claver, a Catholic boarding school in New Orleans. Her mother died the next year, and at age 13 Johnson moved with an aunt to Compton, Calif. She soon returned to New Orleans, where at the age of 17 she met and married John Johnson. In 1955 they moved to Chicago and in 1962 into Altgeld Gardens.

Seven years later, her husband, a construction worker, was diagnosed with lung cancer. Ten weeks later he died, leaving Johnson with seven children and a small Social Security pension. She supplemented the pension with income from a string of jobs. As is common for many Altgeld Garden residents, Johnson traveled miles to work. She skims over the story of those years—the four-hour commutes to a suburban Motorola plant and other far-flung job sites—and moves to the founding of PCR.

"It began," says Johnson, "when I heard about the Southeast Side having the highest cancer rate in the whole city of Chicago. I wanted to start an organization to do something about it. But before that I never had any idea what the environment was all about. I didn't know anything. So I called all over looking for information."

Her telephone lead her to Environmental Action, Citizens Clearinghouse for Hazardous Waste and Greenpeace, among others. Her search, though successful, proved expensive. Johnson, unemployed at the time, was nearly bankrupted by her long-distance quest. "That's when I dragged the kids in," laughs Johnson. "All my kids had jobs, so I was collecting money from them to help me pay the telephone bill."

One of the kids Johnson dragged in was her second-youngest daughter, Cheryl Johnson, then an employee at Argonne National Laboratories—the U.S. Department of Energy's nuclear-research facility in neighboring DuPage County. "I had her going in doing typing, making copies for me. I even snuck myself in a few times," she says. "Cheryl got to seeing some of the things I was doing, so gradually she began to get more involved."

Dragging in the residents of Altgeld Gardens was not so easy. Cheryl, who now works full time at PCR answering phones and poring over IEPA statistics, explains, "Most poor communities are apolitical. The attitude of people in Altgeld Gardens is, 'Ain't nothing gonna change. Don't nobody care about us.' Period. To succeed we have to show people how these issues are relevant to their lives—and prove to them that things can change."

In the spring of 1984, PCR did just that. After years of confronting chronic health problems in her own family and hearing of more in the Altgeld community, Johnson asked the IEPA to help her document the community's poor health. The IEPA handed her 12 survey forms and told her to conduct a "preliminary health survey." PCR took the 12 forms, copied 900 more and returned them all to the IEPA.

Among the complaints registered on the IEPA forms were an alarming array of cancers, respiratory ailments and birth defects. In fact, in a two-year period, four sets of twins in the Altgeld community were either miscarried or stillborn. In 1989, the Illinois Department of Public Health, prodded by PCR, conducted a cancer study of Chicago's far South Side. It confirmed PCR's 1984 neighborhood survey, which found elevated rates of lung and colon cancer in the area.

Something's rotten: Since the 1984 survey Johnson and her organization have received steady support from the people of Altgeld Gardens. That support surges in the summer months, when their neighbor to the north, the Metropolitan Water Reclamation District's sewage treatment facility, wafts a particularly pungent reminder to Altgeld's residents.

The sewage treatment plant, located just across

the street from the housing complex, uses 125 acres of open-air drying beds to process more than 700 tons of sewage a week. "When it's bad," Johnson says, "the smell just makes you sick. It really makes you want to throw up."

Johnson is concerned with more than the plant's smell. She fears that industrial wastes, dumped illegally into Chicago sewers, may be drifting, along with the odor of sewage, into the homes in her community.

Alfred Michuda, the treatment plant's chief engineer, says industries are monitored and polluters fined when they contaminate the city's sewage. "The sewage treatment plant I've got no problems with," Michuda says. "But the rest of the area—I wouldn't want to live in the middle of it." According to Johnson, most of Altgeld Gardens' residents have no choice but to stay. There are long waiting lists for CHA apartments, and few can afford the move to private housing.

Although PCR continues to spotlight Altgeld's long-neglected health problems, Johnson says the lack of concerted enforcement by government regulators severely limits her group's impact. In fact, even PCR's biggest victory has been undercut by the inaction of state and federal regulators. In May 1989, after investigating complaints from PCR and others of continuing violations at Waste Management's Southeast Side hazardous-waste incinerator, the federal EPA slapped the company with a \$4.5 million fine—the largest penalty ever assessed against an incinerator operator in Illinois and one of many against Waste Management.

But even though both state and federal regulators uncovered "serious operating violations" by Waste Management—including the falsification of monitoring records and the illegal burning of highly toxic PCBs—the government has allowed Waste Management to continue to burn 35,000 tons of hazardous waste a year while the incinerator's future is debated during lengthy regulatory hearings.

"The plant should be fined and shut down," Johnson says, adding that once the fine is collected, "a trust fund should be set aside for the people affected by the polluters. A lot of people in Altgeld Gardens are ill but they can't find out what's wrong with them. I know a lot of people who can't find a job because of the way they feel from all this, but when they go in front of a Social Security board they can't get disability. The polluters are affecting us all with their waste while they're making millions of dollars."

Mary Ryan, a Waste Management spokeswoman, has faced Johnson at many public meetings. Ryan politely departs from Johnson's view. Speaking from Waste Management offices in suburban Westchester, she says, "I absolutely respect and admire what Hazel does. People like her keep all of us sharp."

But Ryan believes Johnson's approach sometimes obscures the "delicate issues" involved in garbage disposal. "These are issues that beg for cooperation," she says. "Not just among federal and state governments but among private industry and local citizens as well."

As a sign of that cooperation, Ryan boasts of Waste Management's adopt-a-school program with Carver Area High, Altgeld Gardens' local high school. Ryan says Waste Management pumps \$38,000 a year into Carver book clubs, science courses and tutorial programs and this year is funding seven college scholarships.

Johnson scoffs at the program and says the benefits it provides a few students can never outweigh the damage done to the entire community. Cooperative agreements of that sort, says Johnson, have as much integrity as the high school building itself—which is slowly sinking into the municipal landfill on which it was built. □

Snow job

There apparently is no end to the covert crimes of the Reagan-Bush era. In a recent issue of *Vanity Fair*, Mort Rosenblum adds yet another chapter to the contra-cocaine connection. Basing his story on contacts within the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), the U.S. military and the Honduran military, among others, Rosenblum writes: "U.S. administration officials have known for years that senior Honduran military officers are funneling cocaine by the ton into the United States. ... During a 15-month period lasting until 1988, perhaps as much as 50 tons [of cocaine] moved through Honduras—nine tons of which was seized—amounting to half the estimated consumption in the United States."

Rosenblum's story begins on Jan. 18, 1987, in Lubbock, Texas, where DEA agents arrested Honduran businessman Eugenio Molina Osorio after he was caught selling two kilos of cocaine to an undercover agent. Denying bail, Federal Judge J.Q. Warnick put Molina in jail to await a trial. Molina claimed to be working for the CIA. The CIA sent a secret letter to Warnick and the assistant U.S. attorney who was prosecuting the case. U.S. Attorney C. Richard Baker—the West Texas representative of Attorney General Edwin Meese—moved for dismissal. Warnick dropped the drug-dealing charges in a hearing that he closed to the public on grounds of protecting national security. Molina's lawyer, David Martinez, told Rosenblum, "We worked out a deal. They knew if we went to trial, he was going to have to say a lot of stuff that no one wants to hear about." Especially those in the Reagan-Bush administration who, with their eyes focused on Nicaragua, looked the other way while the cocaine flowed in. An unnamed ranking U.S. military officer in Honduras told Rosenblum, "Of course we know what's going on. As long as they support the contras, we're not going to touch them. ... Drugs, that's the DEA's problem. We've got enough to do."

Drug warriors

Corporate Crime Reporter, a weekly newsletter published in Washington, D.C. (a subscription costs \$795 per year), recently interviewed Michael Levine, a 16-year veteran of the DEA and author of *Deep Cover: The Inside Story of How DEA Infighting, Incompetence and Subterfuge Lost Us the Biggest Battle of the Drug War*. The interview reads in part:

CCR: Why won't President Bush win the war on drugs?

Levine: When William Von Raab resigned [as head of U.S. Customs], he wrote a letter to Bush saying that Third World banking is more important than the drug war. He is absolutely right. We have to realize that the Andean nations' debt is \$42 billion. ... More than 50 percent of the Andean nations' GNP comes from the sale of cocaine.

CCR: Are you saying that, if we win the drug war, the bankers are in a position to lose because the Andean nations won't have the money to make their debt payments?

Levine: They are positioned to be destroyed. Brazil is now \$142 billion in debt, and their income is now being increasingly influenced by cocaine. The more we put the squeeze on Andean nations, the more it shifts to Brazil.

CCR: Where do you see the drug policy going?

Levine: The most chilling thing I've seen recently is the fact that the CIA now wants to get involved in the drug war. What that tells me is that the communist bogeyman is now disappearing and the CIA now wants to make sure that it stays funded. So it will now turn to the war on drugs. This is so much like the Vietnam war that it is ridiculous. ... These people are moving us towards a militarized drug war, and America is going for it.

Burn the poor

Earlier this month in Milwaukee, Wis., graveyard owners petitioned the Milwaukee County Board of Supervisors to pay them \$470 for burying dead adult welfare recipients, up from \$430 per penniless cadaver. So vigilant County Supervisor T. Anthony Zielinski, 29, proposed that the county cremate the dead poor. This would, he reasoned, save taxpayers about \$300 with each indigent sent up in smoke. He instructed the Department of Social Services staff to review cremation of the poor "as well as any other method." This led Supervisor Elizabeth Coggs-Jones to ask, "What other method? Throwin' em off a boat?" Not quite. In his desire not to "leave any stone unturned," Zielinski proposed that the county consider selling the vital organs of people who died on welfare. "If they can't help society while they're alive, maybe they can help it while they're dead," he explained. When informed by the county attorney that dealing in human tissue violates the Wisconsin Constitution, Zielinski said he would seek to change the laws to make organ sales legal. "You're going to have a lot more people selling their organs if they can get \$20,000 to go to their kids." And let's not forget the gold teeth.

Have blinders, will fund

While Congress dickers with President Bush about how much aid to give to the Salvadoran military in light of the November murders of six Jesuit priests, their cook and her daughter, a court in El Salvador has absolved 14 of 17 defendants of murdering 10 peasants in 1988 and of kidnapping several businessmen for profit between 1982 and 1986. Once considered crucial tests of the Cristiani regime's intention to respect human rights, the cases have fallen from public view since the Jesuit slayings. In 1989 Vice President Dan Quayle went to El Salvador and lectured its military and civilian leaders about the prosecution of the former case, known as the San Francisco massacre. Now, while doing their best to justify continued aid, both the administration and Congress are ignoring the absolution. The media, too, has barely mentioned this latest evidence of Cristiani's commitment to freedom and democracy.

Corporate amnesia

In a May 9 editorial we noted how Deputy Attorney General Donald Ayer's recommendation to sentence corporate criminals to fines up to hundreds of millions of dollars was undercut by White House Counsel C. Boyden Gray. Last week Ayer resigned from his post. The story made page 1 of the *New York Times*, but, like the rest of the media, the *Times* forgot to mention the issue of white-collar crime. Instead, it attributed Ayer's departure to differences in management style.

Department of sanitation

The State Department might do well to face up to its Orwellian censorship tendencies and change its name to "the Ministry of Truth," say some of the country's top historians. The department stands accused of purging its published editions of diplomatic archives—edited by retired State Department officials—of almost all references to the CIA, reports *The Guardian's* Martin Walker. The recently published Volume X of U.S. foreign relations from 1952 to 1954, for instance, contains no reference to the CIA's role in the coup which brought the shah of Iran to power in 1953. (The CIA and British intelligence veterans have published their own accounts of the coup.) In addition to complaints by the Organization of American Historians, the chairman of the State Department's own advisory board of outside historians has resigned in protest over the censorship policy. Another row is brewing, says Walker, over a similar falsification of the volume on Central America, which fails to mention the CIA's role in overthrowing the left Arbenz government in Guatemala in 1954.

To file or not to file

Millions of low-income families may be losing up to \$910 a year by failing to file federal income-tax returns. Under the federal government's Earned Income Credit (EIC) program, working families who earned less than \$19,340 in 1989, who do not owe federal income taxes and who have at least one child living at home can file to receive their 1989 EICs any time during the next three years. More than 11 million families now qualify for the credit, established by Congress in the mid-'70s to help offset the burden of regressive payroll taxes.

Glasnost misses Ohio

The president of Ohio's Oberlin College—a self-proclaimed bastion of free speech—has been subpoenaed on a felony charge of inciting violence. More than 200 Oberlin students clashed with police during an April 13 "Speakout Against Bigotry" demonstration outside President Frederick Starr's residence, a traditional protest ground. According to 43 police-brutality complaints filed by the students, police gave no warning before rushing the assembly with attack dogs and a fire truck. At question is who ordered the removal of the students and whether or not their First Amendment rights were violated. A preliminary hearing will determine whether there is enough evidence to bring the charge against Starr to a grand jury.

Please send timely news about local activities, follow-ups on stories we've run or other interesting bits of information—including your address and phone number—to Kira Jones, In These Times, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647.

New York AIDS policy goes from bad to worse

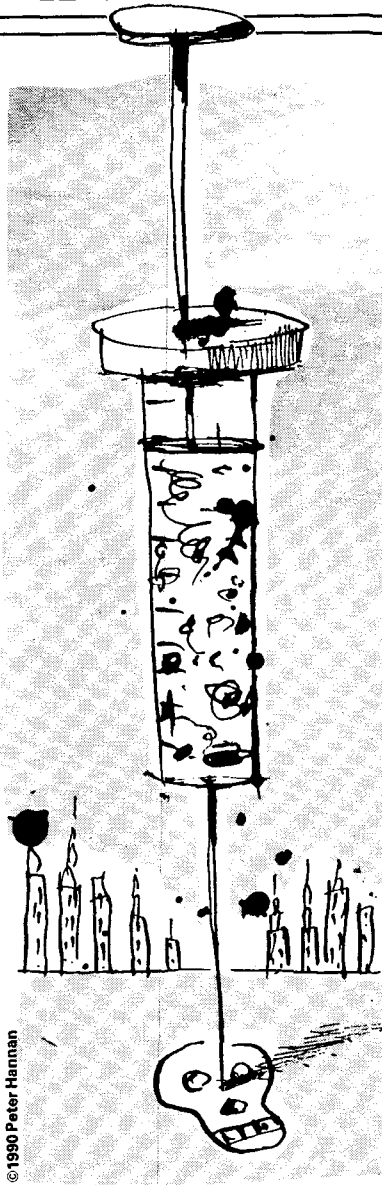
NEW YORK—Mayor David Dinkins' AIDS policy went from bad to outright shocking in early May when city health officials informed a highly regarded outreach program that it could no longer use city funds to teach addicts not to share dirty needles.

The decision was a radical step even for Dinkins, an official who had made no bones about regarding the war on AIDS as secondary to the war on drugs. Whereas Dinkins had previously opposed programs to distribute clean needles or to teach addicts to disinfect their "works" by using ordinary household bleach, his latest stance put the city for the first time in the position of embargoing the simplest AIDS-prevention information. Under former Mayor Ed Koch, the city printed up posters and handbills by the thousands on the dangers of needle sharing. But as of July 1—barring some compromise—the information is to be withdrawn.

The policy, which leaked out around May 1, triggered the most serious protests by AIDS experts and advocates since the dimensions of the epidemic first became apparent in the early '80s.

Dr. David Rogers, a physician who is vice chairman of the National Commission on AIDS, called the city's position "punitive." Mathilde Krim, founder of the American Foundation for AIDS Research (AmFAR), called for "aggressive outreach to [intravenous] drug users with information" on how to save lives. The Minority Task Force on AIDS, which

INSHORT



previously had backed the mayor in opposing clean-needle giveaways, pronounced itself "dismayed" by the latest ruling.

"The one sign of hope we had is the demonstrated role education has played in reducing the spread of AIDS," task force Director Ronald Johnson said on May 10 outside the city Department of Health. "To deny them education is to sentence the substance abuser and his family to

misery and perhaps even death."

A few feet away, several dozen members of the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT-UP) chanted amid a drenching downpour, "Dead addicts don't recover" and "Hey hey, ho ho, addictophobia has got to go."

The administration move was shocking to AIDS workers simply because the problem of needle-borne AIDS is so huge in New York—up to 155,000 people have been infected directly or indirectly from dirty needles—and the program in question is so highly regarded. Run by the Association for Drug Abuse Prevention and Treatment, commonly known as ADAPT, it is the brainchild of a former social worker named Yolanda Serrano who began outreach to drug addicts at a time when most city officials wished they would simply go away. As early as 1985, Serrano and her co-workers started making the rounds of the city's shooting galleries passing out two-ounce bleach containers and photocopied instruction sheets. Under Koch the city's attitude was one of grudging approval. Under Dinkins, however, it has turned blatantly hostile.

It's as if the city, confronted by a vast AIDS epidemic among gay men, not only banned condoms but also defunded any organization warning of the dangers of unprotected sex. The result would be a form of biological warfare in which the threat of disease is used as a technique to induce a dissident population—gays in one instance, intravenous drug users in another—to surrender. By withholding information of AIDS prevention, Dinkins is apparently prepared to allow AIDS to run its course as part of a general war on drug users.

—Daniel Lazare

Suspicious break-in at Center for Constitutional Rights

NEW YORK—There's plenty of irony surrounding the April break-in at the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR).

For one thing, CCR is home to the Movement Support Network (MSN), a clearinghouse that documents instances of harassment against anti-government groups, including suspected political break-ins.

The April 18 incident at the CCR fits the bill perfectly. A large window at the entrance of the office was smashed. Although valuable computer and electronic equipment was exposed, only a set of keys was taken. The office answering machine was tampered with, and desk and file drawers were rifled.

"The object is to intimidate people," says MSN's Jinsoo Kim. "It's an obvious attempt to let us know they were here."

The CCR in 1988 filed a lawsuit against the FBI on behalf of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) for what the group says is continuing harassment despite the censure of six agents last year by FBI Director William Sessions. As a result of 1987 House subcommittee hearings and 1989 Senate hearings, Sessions acknowledged that the FBI's surveillance of CISPES and other groups was "improper." He also, however, called the work—which he said ended in 1985—"an aberration."

Since the CISPES investigation "ended" in 1985, MSN has documented 117 break-ins or incidents of harassment of anti-administration groups, with a marked increase in incidents since last November's guerrilla offensive in El Salvador. While most reports describe damage done to offices, some organizers say that their homes and cars have also been targeted. Michael Lent, CISPES' organizing director, said that his home was entered in November 1985. Although nothing of value was taken, his papers were searched.

"It leaves you with the feeling that you are always being watched," he said.

Most telling, perhaps, is a State Department memo dated March 6 acquired by the American Civil Liberties Union through the Freedom of Information Act. It describes in detail upcoming events of CISPES and CRE-CEN, a Salvadoran Refugee support group, including a demonstration protesting the inauguration of Alfredo Cristiani to the Salvadoran presidency on March 19.

Because the State Department does not conduct its own intelligence gathering, the information must have come from either the Secret Service or the FBI. FBI officials refused to comment.

The memo also states that information contained within should be "shared with appropriate law-enforcement contacts as well as official government of El Salvador representatives."

Earlier this month a federal judge dismissed the CCR suit against the FBI. Officials at CCR say they may appeal.

—Jessica Jiji

By Salim Muwakkil

CHICAGO

WHEN MAYOR HAROLD WASHINGTON DIED in November 1987, the progressive political coalition he helped forge expired with him. All attempts to resurrect it thus far have failed. The movement spirit that spawned his coalition and inspired admiration among progressives everywhere apparently is en-

POLITICS

tombed with the man who was Chicago's first black mayor.

Mayor Richard M. Daley, the city's second Daley mayor—the first was his father, Richard J.—has been the major beneficiary of this division; he exploited it shrewdly to win an easy victory over coalition candidate Alderman Timothy Evans in last year's mayoral contest, and most pundits predict Daley will easily win re-election in 1992. The electoral coalition that Evans fronted in 1989 was a crippled remnant of Washington's broad-based network. In 1990, that coalition is leaderless, spiritless and virtually defunct.

Some segments of the former Washington coalition think that situation may be a blessing in disguise. "Now African-Americans can concentrate on building a unified black coalition without the distractions of other agendas," said Robert Starks, director of the Task Force for Black Empowerment. "People may have forgotten that Harold Washington's campaign got started because a unified group of grass-roots African-American community leaders decided to push for black political empowerment. It's important to remember that we have to coalesce with each other before we can do so with others."

Pincham's challenge: Groups like Starks' task force—for example, the Black United Front headed by Conrad Worrill and the Black Independent Political Organization headed by longtime organizer Lu Palmer—that have consistently pushed a black nationalist agenda but were effectively excluded from the Washington administration's inner circle have gained influence as the old coalition has crumbled. Old-line black politicians whose machine-like tendencies were considered anathema to the old coalition are gaining new respectability merely by rallying behind their racial identities.

What's more, former Illinois Appellate Court Judge R. Eugene Pincham, a losing candidate in the March 20 Democratic primary election for Cook County board president, has launched an acrimonious campaign against Richard Phelan, the man who defeated him. Pincham has urged his supporters not to vote for the Democratic candidate in the upcoming general election because of charges Phelan leveled against Pincham during the campaign.

The former judge accused Phelan of "insulting" the black community by questioning his so-called lenient treatment of alleged rapists whose trials he presided over. Pincham compared Phelan's tactics to the racist "Willie Horton strategy" that George Bush featured in his 1988 presidential campaign. Although Pincham failed to excite the electoral passions of the black community in the primary, his unrelenting assault on Phelan since then has upped his popularity quotient among African-Americans.



Former mayoral candidate Tim Evans: reminiscent of Harold Washington's broad-based network.

Chicago's bleak prospects for coalition politics renewed

"Pincham has nothing to lose and everything to gain by selling wolf tickets to Phelan," said a black politician who requested anonymity. "But somewhere along the line, black people are going to ask the judge if he has any program other than 'blacker-than-thou' rhetoric."

This city politician was eager to offer his off-the-record criticism of Pincham, but he candidly fears going public with his doubts. "We're being led around by the nose by the judge, because his hard-line attitude has made him the new hero of the black community."

Reagan legacy: The bleak prospects for a revival of coalition politics distress Alderman David Orr, who in March won the Democratic primary for county clerk. One of Washington's closest white allies, Orr captured 80 percent of the black vote; clearly he remains well regarded in the African-American community. Orr said he understands blacks' renewed determination to pursue empowerment strategies but he fears they may ultimately be self-defeating.

"White Democrats who make general criticisms of African-Americans' empowerment aspirations should try to understand how many in that community view Democratic political leadership," Orr said. "Too many Democrats turned their backs on the increasing misery in growing numbers of African-American neighborhoods."

"Ironically," Orr added, "Democrats are getting blamed primarily for what the Republicans did. We're confronting the devastation brought on by the brutal policies of the Reagan years. And in truth, the Democrats share much of the blame for not speaking out more forcefully against those inhumane policies. But when we have an opportunity to make

the Democratic Party more responsive to the needs of the people, I think we should take it. And building political coalitions is the most effective way to do that."

Orr fears that Pincham, by urging black voters to defect from the Democrats' flagship candidate, is both endangering a Democratic victory and squandering an opportunity to exert real influence on the party's direction. But being the most visible white member of the crippled coalition, Orr is also reluctant to openly criticize Pincham's strategy. He would prefer that Aldermen Evans and Danny Davis, two of the city's most prominent black advocates of coalition politics, provide critical analysis of Pincham's tactics. But they are both decidedly noncommittal.

"I have not yet made a determination who to support in the Phelan race," said Davis. "I'm trying to evaluate the situation, the climate." Indeed, Pincham's star could well rise high enough to make him a formidable contender for the mayoral seat in the 1992 elections. Added Evans, "I think the best approach would be to engage in ticket-splitting—if people decide not to vote for Phelan—and vote for the candidates on the basis of issues."

Blacker-than-thou: Some black politicians—Aldermen William Henry, William Beavers and Robert Shaw, among others—who had problems with the Washington coalition's reform agenda have now adopted "blacker-than-thou" postures that place them on the current political bandwagon. Curiously, Alderman Bobby Rush, the former Black Panther, is the most forthright black supporter of Phelan.

"Dick Phelan has demonstrated a genuine commitment to the philosophy of progres-

sive government," Rush said. "His agenda for the African-American community stands in sharp contrast to the non-agenda of the Republican candidate." Rush's position has been widely denounced by black political leaders and, since Phelan named him as the coordinator of a voter-registration project, many have charged him with selling out.

"I heard one community leader say that the voter-registration money Bobby reportedly received is really a euphemism for political bribery," Pincham said. In this city's racially charged political atmosphere, black politicians who maintain friendly contacts with white politicians are accused of Uncle Tomism. Pincham has cleverly exploited the spirit of the times to fuel his popularity. He justifies his decision to ignore the hallowed political tradition of supporting the primary winner by claiming he's not a traditional politician; his choice has been reinforced by his growing political popularity.

Although he's using nationalist-approved terminology in his condemnation of white racism, many black nationalists are uncomfortable with Pincham. "The judge remains somewhat of a mystery," said Worrill. "I think that's the way he wants it. And although I think he's a good candidate, I wonder if some black people find it hard to relate to a judge. Many times I've heard people comment that Judge Pincham sent one of their relatives away to jail and wonder if some African-Americans may be harboring some kind of quiet resentment about him for his role in a system that demonstrates such contempt for our community's young men. Maybe that's part of the reason there was such a low voter turnout for the judge [in the March election]."

Rather than leave all of the political mobilization efforts to Pincham, nationalists have initiated protests against Mayor Daley's delay tactics in choosing nominees for the permanent school board. The turmoil surrounding the city's radical school-reform effort provides ample opportunity for legitimate protests from many segments of the community. Chicagoans were so ill-prepared for the radical reform of the city's educational system that chaos has replaced the bright promise offered by the planners who structured the design of the new system.

Paradoxically, the nationalist-led school-board protests have forged the most promising coalition of the post-Washington years. "We're all interested in the education of our children, so this is the kind of issue that has the potential to build a broad coalition," said Emma Lozano, a Latina organizer who was also an integral part of the Washington coalition.

"It's my contention that the Washington movement never died," she continued. "It just needed the right issue to revive it. And this struggle for educational excellence and relevance seems just the issue to unite a wide range of people. Remember, it was the fight against insensitive school-board appointments that got things started in the first Washington campaign."

Chicago's rough-and-tumble brand of racial politics makes it a bellwether city. If coalition politics fails in the city of Harold Washington, there's little hope it will succeed elsewhere any time soon. The historians and political scientists who flocked to Chicago in the '80s to study the Washington phenomenon would have little problem explaining what's gone wrong so far in the '90s. □

By David Moberg

IN THE 20 YEARS SINCE CONGRESS PASSED THE Occupational Safety and Health Act (OSHA), opponents to the law have proposed more than 300 amendments to weaken what was never tough enough to protect workers in the first place. During the '80s the Reagan administration deliberately

DANGER PEOPLE AT WORK

undermined OSHA's already inadequate enforcement, cutting inspections by 30 percent. The result in recent years has been a reversal of the downward trend in occupational deaths, injury and disease established in the '70s.

Now the political tide seems to be turning. This year Congress is considering, instead of the usual debilitating amendments, at least four important measures to strengthen occupational safety and health. Besides toughening the penalties for employer violations and beefing up OSHA, several of these measures move in an important new direction, away from heavy reliance on federal oversight—by giving workers, their families and safety agents in the workplace greater powers.

Nice try but... OSHA simply has not succeeded in preventing avoidable workplace hazards. For example, the National Safe Workplace Institute, an independent research and advocacy organization, found that in two-thirds of the construction fatalities in 1989, OSHA cited the employer for one or more serious violations. This report, along with a similar *Dallas Times* study, suggests that most of these deaths occur simply because employers do not follow safe procedures outlined by current, yet inadequate, laws.

Moreover, when employers are cited for violations, the penalties are usually meaningless. The Texas study reported an average OSHA fine of \$350 in cases of fatalities. Last fall, 19 years after OSHA was passed, the first employer was sent to jail for violating federal workplace safety laws—a mere 45 days for misdemeanor charges on OSHA violations that led to the deaths of two workers in a construction-site trench cave-in.

Yet workers who blow the whistle on occupational dangers risk discharge or discipline, despite supposed legal protection. A General Accounting Office survey of OSHA inspectors found widespread belief that most workers did not know their rights under OSHA and realistically feared reprisal if they took any action. Joan McManus, director of the Wisconsin Committee on Occupational Safety and Health, studied the appeals of 249 people who were fired for job-safety protests in Wisconsin from 1981 to 1986. (Last year there were 3,600 such appeals nationwide.) Only 6 percent won their reinstatement. Some workers lost appeals even after OSHA itself had improperly revealed their names to employers, who then fired them for calling OSHA.

Family difficulties: When workers are killed, half of the surviving families never



Construction has shown little improvement in its safety record since 1970.

Weak workplace safety law needs strength to do its job

see a report or citation from OSHA investigations, according to a survey by the National Safe Workplace Institute. Survivors receive little from insurance or workers' compensation, according to a study by Mount Sinai School of Medicine, which reported that the public-welfare system and the families themselves absorb 85 percent of the cost of work-

The Occupational Safety and Health Act has not succeeded in preventing avoidable workplace hazards.

place injuries and deaths. The temporary or permanent loss of a breadwinner plunges many of these families into poverty.

Also, when families can learn little of a loved one's death, they have a much harder time adjusting to their loss. Dr. Marie-Claude Rigaud, an occupational psychiatrist at the University of Illinois School of Medicine, recently testified at a congressional hearing. And when families or victims are excluded from the investigation and assessment of penalties—as they are under current law—it is much easier for employers to negotiate minimal penalties for their offenses.

The four major reforms include stiffer civil and criminal penalties, additional family and victim rights, whistleblower protection and new provisions for construction safety.

• **Penalties:** Sen. Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ) has proposed trebling civil penalties—now a maximum of \$10,000 in the case of willful violations resulting in death. Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D-OH) and Rep. Tom Lantos (D-CA) have introduced new legislation that makes willful OSHA violations that result in death a felony punishable by up to 10 years in prison, rather than a misdemeanor subject

to a maximum of six months imprisonment. The bill also makes willful violations that seriously injure or recklessly endanger workers felonies, and it specifically states that federal law does not pre-empt local prosecutions, as at least two state Supreme Courts have ruled in rejecting employer defense pleas.

As former President Ronald Reagan crippled OSHA in the '80s, state and local governments began to criminally prosecute employers who flagrantly violated safety standards. For example, in 1983 OSHA gave Film Recovery Systems in suburban Chicago a pass without an in-plant inspection just a week before Stefan Golab died from cyanide exposure in a workplace where poison labels had been painted over and poisonous fumes were obviously present. Three corporate officers were convicted of murder, although the state Supreme Court has since ordered a retrial.

Such criminal prosecutions work. After California prosecutors won in 54 of 189 prosecutions for safety violations from 1980 to 1985, construction deaths in California cities ranked near the bottom in a 1987 survey of major metropolitan areas. But federal prosecutors have shown no interest in devoting resources to prosecuting mere misdemeanors.

• **Family and victims' rights:** The experience of Lee and Mary Lou Doyle of Bloomington, Ill., is not atypical. Their 21-year-old son, Timothy, was electrocuted while working at the local airport. After nearly five years and considerable effort, the Doyles finally paid for and received the OSHA file on their son's death. From the file they learned of the negotiations—from which they were excluded—that had reduced the fine for the violation that killed him to a paltry \$240.

Sen. Paul Simon (D-IL) has proposed that injured workers or the families of workers incapacitated or killed receive full informa-

tion and cooperation from OSHA during investigations and be allowed to participate in any settlement discussions. In reaction to this bill, Gerard Scannell, assistant secretary of labor for OSHA, announced new rules to provide better treatment for workers and their families. But Scannell's order doesn't bind the state-enforced OSHA plans, doesn't incorporate victims in the settlement and could easily be reversed by his successor.

Joseph Kinney, who founded the National Safe Workplace Institute after his brother was killed in a scaffold collapse, argues that the legislation "will give leverage to OSHA. Now it's just them and the employer [in settlement negotiations] unless there's an aggressive union. Second, it creates a constituency that OSHA desperately needs. Labor's not enough. This is empowerment. The critical thing is to be able to have the eyeball-to-eyeball meeting with the employer."

• **Whistleblower protections:** Last year federal employee whistleblowers received new protection. Now Sen. Metzenbaum and Rep. William Ford (D-MI) want to extend similar protections to private employees, although their procedures for systematizing the hodgepodge of safeguards in existing law vary.

In both cases, the proposals would grant workers the right to refuse work that is dangerous to themselves or to co-workers (workers have such a right now, but it is ambiguous and poorly enforced). If fired, a worker could ask the U.S. Department of Labor to investigate, and if the department found probable cause, it could order the company to reinstate the whistleblower. The worker could remain on the job pending hearings and appeals, and—unlike under current OSHA provisions—could bring a private lawsuit if he or she were dissatisfied with the Labor Department's action. Also, under the proposed rules, the employer would have the burden of proof that it did not retaliate.

• **Construction safety provisions:** Provoked by the 1987 deaths of 28 construction workers in the collapse of the L'Ambiance Plaza project in Connecticut, Rep. Joseph Gaydos (D-PA) and Sen. Christopher Dodd (D-CT) have introduced legislation to create a stronger construction-safety office within OSHA. Under the measure, every construction site would be required to employ a trained safety specialist and a written safety and health program.

The new office would provide for more inspections of construction, which as the most dangerous major industry grouping has shown little safety improvement since 1970. A study by the National Bureau of Economic Research suggests that a 10 percent increase in OSHA inspections would reduce annual injuries 1.6 percent over the next few years—the equivalent of preventing 3,200 construction injuries and 40 deaths per year for two to four years.

But the bill doesn't rely solely on OSHA. The safety specialist or any worker could stop work at the site until a dangerous situation is corrected, and the safety specialist would take control of the site whenever an accident occurred.

Organized labor and workplace-safety advocates want broader OSHA reform that would mandate worker-safety committees and an annually updated safety plan in every workplace. Beyond toughening OSHA, this year's wave of proposals reflects this new awareness: workers, their families and safety advocates in the workplace, including unions, must have more power to be the frontline enforcers of safety and health. □

By Harvey & Bryna J. Fireside

BAYVIEW, TEXAS

THE RELENTLESS FLOOD OF CENTRAL AMERICAN refugees during the past decade has so overwhelmed the U.S. immigration system that it is riddled with contradictions and injustice. Symptomatic of this injustice are the squalid detention centers in which the refugees are placed after Border Patrol agents hunt them down using motorcycles, helicopters, horses and vans.

IMMIGRATION

Once caught, the refugees are kept for months on end for the simple offense of failing to present themselves to officials at the border.

Some 5,000 men, women and children are currently being housed in detention centers from California's El Centro to the Port Isabel Service Processing Center here in Bayview, Texas, known to its inmates as El Corralón, or the big corral. They are Salvadorans, Guatemalans, Hondurans and Nicaraguans—officially referred to as OTM, "other than Mexicans." Mexicans caught entering the country illegally are simply walked back across the border bridges.

As many as 1,300 men and women are kept in El Corralón. After trekking 1,500 miles from their war-torn homelands, the refugees cross the Rio Grande by hopping from sandbar to sandbar at the shallow stretch near Brownsville. Dozens of people each year are swept away by the treacherous current, to the consternation of the local officials who must pay \$500 per body for burial in a potter's field.

While many refugees slip past the checkpoints, anywhere from 25 to 200 OTMs are rounded up daily by the Texas Border Patrol. Unaccompanied minors and families with small children are taken to "soft detention" centers—still under control of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) but run by such private organizations as the International Educational Service and Texas Key. All who are unfortunate enough to end up in El Corralón are cut off from the outside world by a 10-foot-high double chain-link fence.

In one of the barracks that houses many of the 250 women held here, a group gathers around Sister Maureen Quinn, from the Border Witness Program, to sing religious songs. At first, Quinn says, officials would not admit nuns to conduct services or permit them to give the refugees psychological counseling. "Finally, I offered to lead an aerobics class—and that's how we got in."

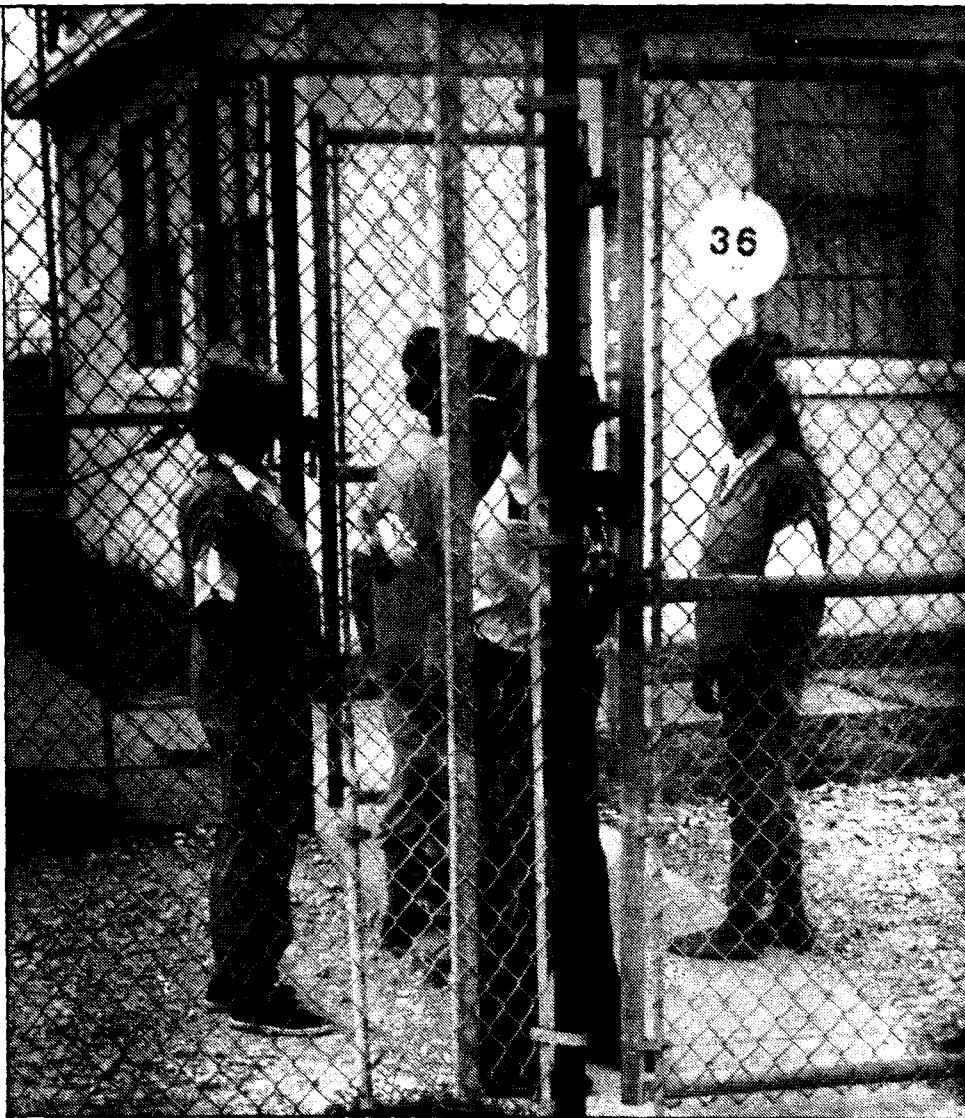
The gaunt face of Maria, a 60-year-old Salvadoran, registers her years of suffering.

"I came by myself," she explains. "I could no longer stand the killing." Although Maria speaks calmly, the tears course down her face. Her hands, gnarled from years of farming, are clenched tightly in her lap.

"The soldiers came to my house and accused me of helping the guerrillas. And that was the truth. They had come to my house and insisted on something to eat. I gave them what I had. The soldiers wanted to kill me for that. So I said, 'You'll have to kill everybody in the whole village, because we all had to give food to the guerrillas.'"

It took Maria two months to get to the U.S. She considers herself lucky because she avoided the fate of many Central American women who have been robbed and raped by *banditos* and Mexican officials who prey on them like hawks on chickens.

Maria was arrested by the Border Patrol in



Women refugees in the Port Isabel Service Processing Center in Bayview, Texas.

Seeking liberty, refugees find injustice and detention

Brownsville and taken to El Corralón, where she was issued an ugly orange jumpsuit. Her own clothing and other belongings will not be returned until she makes bond, is released on her own recognizance or, most likely, gets shipped back to El Salvador.

Dignity lost: The confiscation of the refugees' possessions is the first step in their dehumanization. The guards rarely refer to them as "men" and "women." They are known, rather, as "males" and "females" and are given three "feedings" each day: at 5:30 a.m., 11 a.m. and 4 p.m. Although men and women—including married couples—use the same dining area, they are not permitted to eat together or socialize.

There are few activities organized for the prisoners. Some, who agree to work a 12-hour shift in the kitchen or on yard detail, are paid \$1 per day. Usually the men are allowed to play soccer, but that privilege can be revoked. In late March the men were banned from the recreation field because of a planned hunger strike to protest the camp's brutal conditions, according to a Corralón inmate. The inmate also said Border Patrol agents charged into the barracks in full riot gear the night before the strike and roughed up the sleeping "ring leaders."

INS staff members set up childish games like musical chairs for the women. But because there are no chairs, the women play by passing a broom from hand to hand.

Desolation row: The nuns who visit once a week and the half-dozen paralegals and attorneys are the only links the prisoners have with the outside world. The phones—mandated by court order—often are broken. When they are working they allow only collect calls, which most of the pro bono attor-

neys can't afford to accept.

Maria has no one to call. She can expect to wait from one month to one year before her case comes up. And then she, like more than 97 percent of Central American refugees, will face deportation. One out of five refugees sent back to Guatemala or El Salvador "disappears," according to Sister Quinn, within three months. While a recent Amnesty International report confirms the persecution of refugees who return to El Salvador, the INS denies it.

Each day in Building 37, some 100 men and women file into three courtrooms for the morning hearings before an immigration

The refugees are referred to as "males" and "females" and are given three "feedings" a day.

judge. In courtroom No. 3, 26 men wait. The court clerk hands each of them two sheets of paper. The first appraises them of their rights. The second is a list of free or low-cost legal services. Of nine listings, only the last agency, Casa de Proyecto Libertad, takes a limited number of refugees seeking asylum or "showing cause" why they shouldn't be deported. The agency is run by two overworked attorneys and seven paralegals, with occasional help from volunteers from the Texas Bar Association.

Although the INS handouts are written in English and Spanish, most refugees are *cam-*

pesinos, or peasants, who never learned to read or write. The court translator patiently explains their rights to them in Spanish.

Judgment day: Immigration Judge Glen McPhaul is a good-humored man of about 30, with a warm smile, a large mustache and rimless glasses. He sits, berobed, in an incongruously luxurious leather swivel chair. It is evident that McPhaul's Spanish is excellent, although he conducts court in English. When he learns that four Guatemalans from Huehuetenango do not know enough Spanish to understand the proceedings, he orders their hearings delayed until an interpreter for their Mam dialect can be found.

McPhaul is considered one of the fairest immigration judges in the Lower Rio Grande Valley. He makes certain that the refugees understand each step of the proceedings and employs a highly skilled translator who lends an added air of dignity to the proceedings.

After McPhaul reschedules several cases, he asks the remaining 14 whether they want to have full "show cause" hearings. Surprisingly, all decline, asking the judge to deport them immediately.

The judge asks them why people who have risked their lives to come to the U.S., who have spent months in detention, ask to be deported. "I left my wife and children to come here," responds one man. "Without me to support them, they are probably starving. I haven't heard from them in months. I wish to go back to help support my family."

The deportation hearings are perfunctory. McPhaul reads the men their rights, the translator translates and each prisoner is asked if he understands. All receive their deportation orders within 10 minutes.

"We try to deport these individuals within a week's time," says one of the guards. Many refugees, however, are kept at the detention center for months awaiting flights home.

What becomes clear during the morning hearing is that, although the procedural rights of the prisoners are scrupulously observed, the outcome of their cases is almost always the same.

For six years the pro bono lawyers group Proyecto Libertad has provided Federal Judge David V. Kenyon with documentation that the civil rights of the refugees were being denied in court. In April 1988 he granted a permanent injunction ordering strict adherence to procedures guaranteeing the rights of refugees—specifically Salvadorans—which include the right to file an appeal after asylum is denied. Last September 28, however, Kenyon found the INS had still "failed to comply" with his order. The odds are as long as ever on obtaining political asylum by proving an individual has a "well-founded fear of persecution" on grounds of "race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion," as spelled out in the 1980 Refugee Act (see *In These Times*, May 9). In practice, the act has been arbitrarily interpreted so that only 2.3 percent of Salvadoran applicants and 1.9 percent of Guatemalan applicants were granted asylum from 1983 to 1989. In contrast, until the recent election of Nicaraguan President Violeta Chamorro, 25.6 percent of Nicaraguan applicants and 72.6 percent of Soviet applicants obtained asylum during the same years.

The shifting political basis of granting asylum was demonstrated when a young Miskito Indian from Nicaragua submitted her case to McPhaul. The woman and her brothers had been contra supporters. She had been arrested and imprisoned by the

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Sandinistas, and she based her asylum claim on the suffering of Miskito Indians as a group and her record as a contra "enemy of the state." Her "well-founded fear of persecution" was affirmed in a letter from the U.S. State Department's Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs.

Her face froze in shock when McPhaul denied her request for asylum. She slumped in her chair as he told her that since the State Department wrote her supporting letter the political situation had changed. Nicaragua, he told her, would soon be a democracy. As for her treatment by the Sandinistas, McPhaul did not deem it excessive. "After all," he said, "you were defying the legally constituted government, and you didn't say they mistreated you in jail." McPhaul apprised the woman of her right to appeal his decision for a \$110 filing fee—unless a waiver was granted—within 10 days.

A high price: It has been very costly to keep Central Americans in detention centers. INS Commissioner Gene McNary earlier this year admitted to Congress that last year's budget was exceeded by \$50 million. During the two-month period between February 21 and April 20 last year, the INS spent more than \$300,000 deporting 1,300 Central Americans. The INS has even begun to charter its own flights out of Brownsville, Texas.

Suddenly, in late January of this year, as a new wave of Salvadoran refugees reached south of Texas, the INS released hundreds of refugees from El Corralón. The order by Omer G. "Jerry" Sewell, INS' Harlingen district director, allowed refugees to be released "on their own recognizance" and to join relatives elsewhere in the U.S.

Barely two weeks later, McNary announced the new liberal policy had ended. He told the *New York Times* that he hoped to send asylum seekers the message that

they would again face detention under conditions that "won't be like the Ritz Carlton." A few hundred miles west at the Laredo detention center, however, refugees were still getting out on their signatures, according to the *Brownsville Herald*, while at Bayview, bail was set at more than \$3,000.

No reasons for the contradictory policy were ever given. The INS barred district managers from commenting.

The INS seems to be operating, by accident or design, a system in which the refugees and their advocates are kept in confusion. The only factors that remain constant are that more persons will flee their homes in Central America, largely because of the violence U.S. military aid has fueled, and these refugees will routinely be denied their basic human rights. □

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Industry

Continued from page 3

down Commerce Secretary Robert Mosbacher, were eager to dispense with the venturesome Fields.) Fields was transferred to a position where he was supposed to "streamline" the Pentagon's engineering system—a job equivalent to overseeing productivity at the post office. Fields is expected to resign soon and join private industry, where his talents and enthusiasms will be appreciated.

Meanwhile, Atwood and the troika are already beginning to direct DARPA away from any civilian projects. In the wake of Fields's transfer, the Pentagon announced that it was taking \$20 million of the paltry \$30 million allocated to HDTV research and using it for aid to Nicaragua and Panama.

Redefining national security: Fields' transfer is indicative of the kind of obstacles now facing proponents of industrial policy. During the Cold War, support for government economic intervention could be won by arguing that it was in the interest of national security. Thus, even during the laissez-faire Reagan administration, numerous industrial initiatives, including SEMATECH, were funded. But with the end of the Cold War, industrial-policy advocates must confront a powerful coalition of ideological free marketeers and hired lobbyists of foreign firms.

Several attempts have been made to redefine national security, both ideologically and institutionally. House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt (D-MO) has introduced a bill that would have the secretaries of the Treasury and Commerce departments and the U.S. trade representative sit on the National Security Council—the point being that national security should include economic well-being. Sen. John Glenn (D-OH) has introduced a proposal to create a DARPA within the Commerce Department.

But with government economic policy dictated by the White House, proponents of a redefined national security and industrial policy are bound to fail. With the 1988 Omnibus Trade Act, for example, Congress set up a new National Institute of Standards and Technology and Advanced Technology Program within the Commerce Department. The administration, however, has simply refused to implement the act.

As a result of restrictive administration policy, U.S. industry is increasingly unprepared to compete with Japanese and European firms, especially in high technology, which requires coordinated research efforts and enormous initial investments. Governments in Western Europe are funding major industrial consortia producing aircraft, telecommunications equipment, computers and manufacturing technology; in Japan, the government is targeting, among other things, high-speed transportation, biotechnology and a new generation of supercomputer hardware and software.

The U.S. has repeatedly complained—most recently during the puerile talks with Japan over Structural Impediments Initiatives—that Western Europe and Japan are violating free-market norms. But the Japanese and West Europeans will continue to fund major industrial initiatives while the Bush administration will continue to fight any attempts to fund similar initiatives, whether in high-definition display or machine tools. In matters of economic policy, the Bush administration is the most retrograde since Calvin Coolidge. □

'I am not page-twelve material.'

—June Jordan in *The Progressive*

'I am looking for an umbrella big enough to overcome the tactical and moral limitations of "identity politics"—politics based on gender, class, or race. I am searching for the new language of a new political consciousness of identity.'

—June Jordan, "Waiting for a Taxi,"

'I do not believe that we can restore and expand the freedoms that our lives require unless and until we embrace the justice of our rage. If we do not reintroduce a Right and a Wrong, a Good or Evil measurement of doers and deeds, then how shall we, finally, argue our case?'

—June Jordan, "Where Is the Rage?,"

'I am crying because I am overwhelmed by victory: The cost is not forgivable. Tears come from someplace uncontrollable and free, and right around now anything uncontrollable and everything free looks and feels pretty good to me. I am crying because last week two white men accosted me, calling me "Bitch!" and calling me "Nigger!" and last week Mr. Nelson Mandela was still locked away, a prisoner of racist white men, and I was not sure about the swift and certain demise of apartheid but this morning I am sure. It's over.'

—June Jordan, "Mandela and the Kingdom Come,"

'I am not a "divisive issue." I am not page-twelve material. I want the liberty and the hallowed full human rights of every woman in the world at the top of the news, right there, mixed up with the East Berliners rushing to embrace the people of West Berlin. And I want this new decade to forswear all double standards. No more of this one standard for white people and then there's Panama. No more "establishment of democracy" courtesy of the U.S. Army. No more official regret for the death toll of "American lives." No more "unknown numbers" of "unidentified" and officially ignored victims of white power. I demand the names of every Panamanian man and woman and child who died because George Bush could not have a merry Christmas unless he tried to eliminate Manuel Noriega!'

—June Jordan, "Wrong or White,"

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ASITGG

By Paul Hockenos

EAST BERLIN

A WAVE OF NEO-NAZI GANG ACTIVITY HAS accompanied the tumultuous changes in the German Democratic Republic (GDR). Reports of attacks against gays, foreigners and punks, as well as acts of vandalism against socialist and Jewish monuments, appear daily in the press. But the country's leftist squatter communities have been singled out for special persecution.

Thursday evenings at 8:00, delegates from the city's 30 or so squats meet in one of the occupied houses. This week, at the Schönhauseralle commune, the tension is palpable. Deep in the run-down Prenzlauer Berg district, black and red flags dangle from the five-story building's crumbling balconies. Inside, the representatives shift about uneasily on the floor and against the window sills. At the crowded table, the order of the evening, again, is the squats' defense against neo-Nazi and skinhead attacks. The issue of police protection on the houses' behalf is a painful one for the assembly of anarchists, punks and militant left *autonome*.

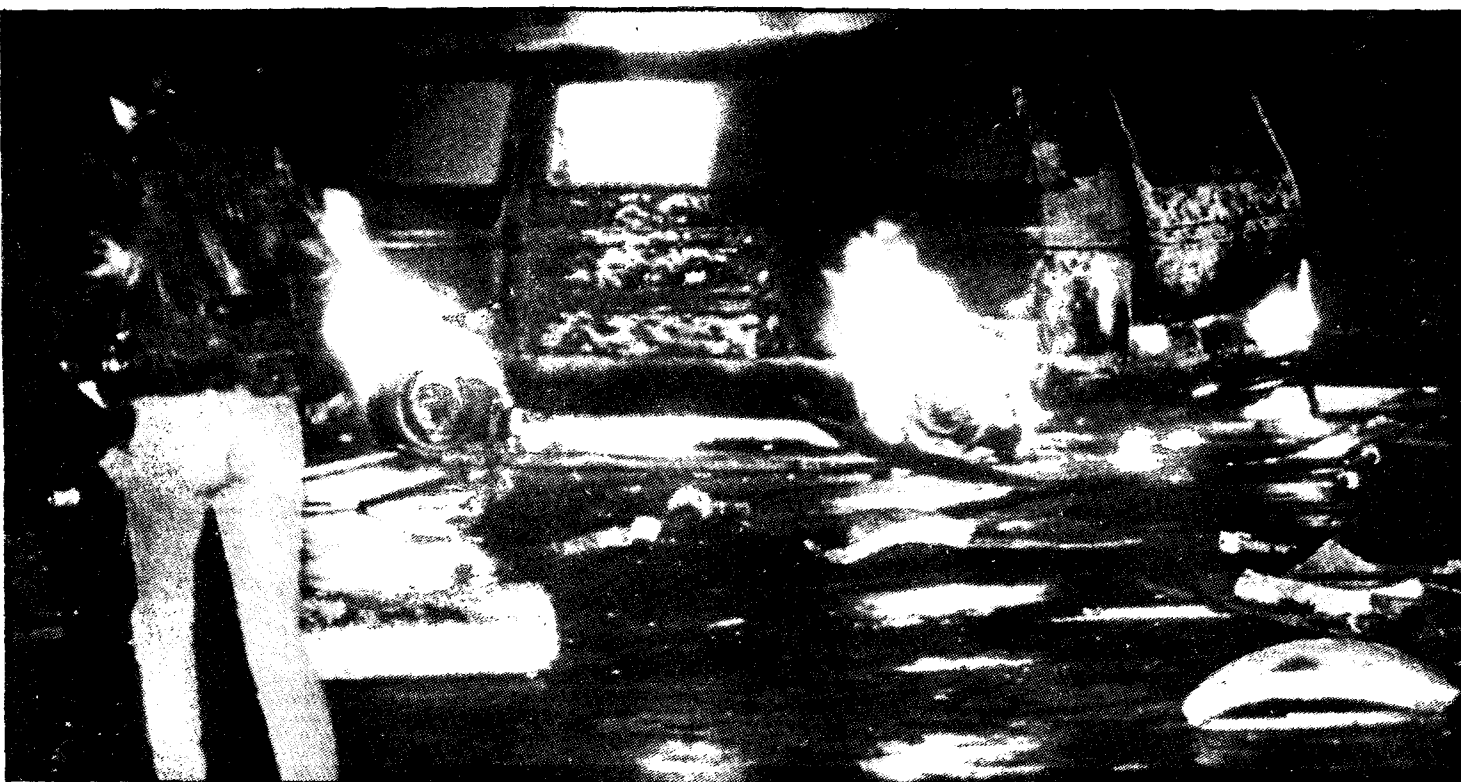
But after hours of debate, the squatters' council reverses its earlier decision to work independently of the police. Cooperation with the authorities, a majority acknowledges, is necessary given the alarming escalation of violence.

Pitched street battles here among hundreds of police, anti-fascists and skinheads have left dozens injured since the new year. So acute is the aggression that the city has put anti-riot squads on constant alert. After matches at the nearby soccer stadium—the favorite meeting place of right extremists and like-minded hooligans—200 armed police now must surround the Schönhauseralle house with wagons and water cannons.

Stalin's children: While the "skins and the punks" closely resemble their Western counterparts, the level of violence in recent months is a GDR phenomenon. Stalinism's children have filled the social vacuum here with protest movements and value systems as different from one another as they are from the old regime. Alternative youth culture—right and left—emerged here in the early '80s. The neglected Prenzlauer Berg quarter, where buildings still lie in ruin from World War II, became an enclave for artists and political activists. A small punk scene evolved, loosely aligning itself with the opposition work of evangelical churches. In church cellars and a handful of clubs, the system's malcontents formed bands, study groups and illegal political organizations to challenge the dictatorship's hegemony.

When the Communist regime collapsed, an alternative, creative scene flowered almost overnight. Groups that had worked together for years occupied dilapidated buildings—thousands of which have stood empty for years, scheduled either for demolition or modernization. Gay and lesbian cooperatives, radical printing presses, Third World solidarity cafes and hard-core clubs now give expression to one voice of East Germany's younger generation.

Nineteen people inhabit the spacious rooms of Schönhauseralle 20. The wall art and graffiti that decorate its soot-stained facade are to the point: "This is Our House!", "Break All Chains!", "Nazis Fuck Off!" *Hinterhof*, the musty back courtyard of Berlin



Pitched street battles among hundreds of police, anti-fascists and skinheads have left dozens injured since the new year in East Berlin.

Violence begets violence in East Berlin youth culture

renown, is an obstacle course of projects underway. Bicycle frames and incomplete new-wave sculptures lie between mounds of rubble discarded from the windows above.

In contrast to the corrupt "socialist" values of the Communist era, the occupants hope to realize their own form of communal living, cooperative work and self-government. Hoffi, a 25-year-old anarchist and Schönhauseralle resident, explains that occupying an empty room during the dictatorship was perfectly legal. "The problem was that any more than two people in a flat was considered a 'political front' and therefore illegal," he says. "The cops used to toss us out right away."

But since January, the police and the state Communal Housing Administration have taken kindly to the squatters. For the time being, in light of the housing crunch, funding and labor are being provided to assist with the enormous renovation project. The buildings, however, belong either to the state, as part of the so-called "peoples' property," or to private owners. "We're in a state of limbo until the specifics of the unification process become clear," says Micha, 20, a Schreinerstrasse resident.

Until then, the most pressing threat is neo-Nazi aggression. Gangs numbering between 15 and 200 regularly storm the squats. Windows are smashed, doors broken down and fascist graffiti sprayed on the walls. In an attack last week, skins tear-gassed the Köpenickerstrasse house, sending two women to the hospital. On the streets, punks and foreigners are regularly assaulted by the right-wing thugs. "It's come to the point that we can't let anybody stay in the house alone anymore," says Micha. A telephone chain between squats and groups in the East and West coordinates a civil defense network, and gas masks, rocks and pipes stand at the ready in the Schreinerstrasse kitchen.

Birthday greetings: The tension between neo-fascists and the new left came to a head April 20, the 101st birthday of Adolf Hitler.

The alarm had already been sounded in the leftist community as about 500 skins and drunken hooligans gathered at the soccer stadium. The pack, some with arms outstretched in the Nazi salute, marched toward Schönhauseralle shouting, "Turks and Reds out!" and "Sieg Heil!"

Columns of riot police met the gangs with clubs and shields, driving them toward the central Alexander Platz. An hour later, according to witnesses and press reports, the skinhead/Nazi contingent had grown to 900 in number, assaulting guestworkers and bicyclists on the way. The Espresso Bar, a reputed gay meeting place, was once again ransacked. The law eventually moved in, dispersing the mob and arresting 30, including several West Berliners. Smaller skirmishes continued into the night as leftist troops set themselves against the fascists.

The number of organized neo-Nazis in East Berlin has tripled to about 3,500 since November. Skinheads, unmistakable with their uniformly shaven heads, green bomber jackets and combat boots, represent the crudest expression of reactionary hate. Usually between 15 and 22 years old, the youth roam the streets in closely knit, aggressive gangs.

A legacy of rage: Their extremism, fueled more by blind rage than an understanding of the Nazi era, is no less a reaction to the system than the punk culture. But while the skins vehemently reject leftism of any sort, they subscribe to the same traditionally German values of authoritarianism, obedience and elitism inherent in the ethics of the Communist state. The restricted cultural and travel policies of the old regime, combined with a narrowminded provincialism resulting in a fertile breeding ground for racism and intolerance.

While the neo-Nazi groups often overlap with the less militant skins, they are somewhat older—between 20 and 28—more educated and formally organized. Meeting in small groups since the mid-'80s, some of the

leaders have a solid grasp of fascist ideology. Their stated goal is a fully militarized, "racially pure" Germany and a reinstallation of the country's 1937 borders. Violence as a political weapon is integral in their strategy.

In the tradition of the anti-fascist state, the new GDR election regulations prohibit neo-fascist parties from running for office. Nevertheless, the East Republican Party (REP), the sister organization of the ultra-right West party, has organized extensively, and with marked success, across the GDR.

The REP's effort to enter the May 6 municipal elections under the guise of the National Alternative (NA) was foiled just before the vote. The election commission banned the group after a police raid on three skinhead squats and the unofficial NA headquarters uncovered weapons, fascist and REP propaganda and Third Reich flags. A computer found there contained a list of "left enemies," including the names and addresses of prominent left leaders and journalists.

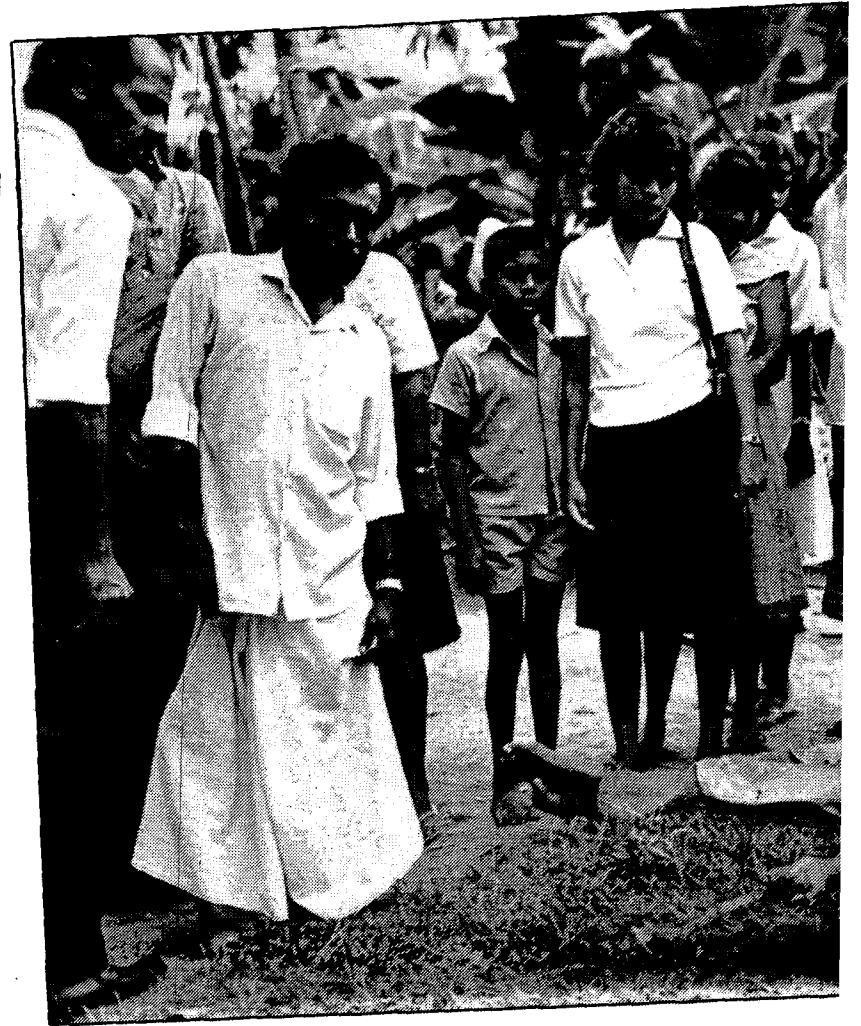
The political ban, however, lasts only as long as the GDR operates under its own election laws. Once the GDR is incorporated under the Federal Republic's constitution, the fascists will have free rein in the East. Not without justification, the REP claim their support in "Middle Germany" exceeds the 10 percent to 15 percent of the urban vote they have captured in regional West German elections.

A broad spectrum of forces—from church parishes to militant Kurdish groups—are organizing against the right's ascent. But the scattered groups' divergent tactics and political isolation has left them unable to tap mainstream opinion. The full-scale re-evaluation of Nazism and the fascist structures of German states, East and West, is more removed from the political agenda than ever. The nationalism and bigotry that has erupted here stands in the way of the social consensus necessary to alter those structures at their very roots. Until such a consensus is reached, the victims of fascist extremism are on their own in combatting the right's violence with the only means available—violence of their own. □

Paul Hockenos is *In These Times'* correspondent in Eastern Europe.

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Sri Lanka: The eye of the



Photographs by John Colmey

Government attributes reign of terror to 'overenthusiastic,' 'perverted' soldiers

As deputy defense minister and chief executive of the ruling United National Party, Ranjan Wijeratne is the second most powerful man in Sri Lanka after President Ranasinghe Premadasa, who doubles as defense minister. It was Wijeratne who masterminded the government's crack-down against the People's Liberation Front (JVP). He believes the last two years represented a personal battle between himself and Rohana Wijeweera, leader of the JVP insurgency, who died while in police custody last November.

Our correspondent spoke with Wijeratne in early May.

Peace in southern Sri Lanka has come at a high cost in terms of lives lost and property damaged. Was there any option other than the military solution? No. After President Premadasa took office [December 1988], he lifted the emergency, which had been in place for five years. We let loose 1,800 criminals involved in subversive activities, hoping they would come to the conference table. What did they do? The opposite of what we anticipated. They doubled their atrocities, created fear psychosis throughout the country, brought the government to a virtual standstill for a take-over. We had to promulgate emergency rule, enforce curfew, close down universities—they were hotbeds of subversion—close down the schools and said, "Right, now it's going to be a free-for-all. Enough

is enough." And we went for them.

My intelligence arm was organized by the first week in August and coordinated a plan for all the forces. I went to the field myself, to the front line. And within three months, we smashed up the hierarchy.... It was my life against Wijeweera's life. They put my neck on the block by challenging me. They put me against the wall virtually. I was not going to sit on that. I said, "Right, you're prepared to take my life; I'm going to take yours." That's the motivation—they motivated me.

But many Sri Lankans believe that in the process the government released forces it cannot control. There have been widespread reports of extralegal killings by hit squads and vigilante groups.

I don't deny that. There have been extralegal killings, mainly by people who have been hurt. In the village people know who killed whom, and they take revenge. A lot of revenge killings took place. The military also had been infiltrated by subversives—they also killed, they deserted and they killed. Some politicians may have used this opportunity to get rid of their adversaries—on all sides. It would be foolish on my part to say nothing happened. But as far as the forces are concerned and the police are concerned, they are a disciplined lot. I have not told any of my men to do any unnecessary killing. My instructions were, "You go

for the terrorists and capture them. If you come into combat, you shoot." ...[But] just because they put on uniforms, they're not saints. You get the pathological cases.

But did you let them go at that time, or did you try to rein them in when you spotted those men who got out of line?

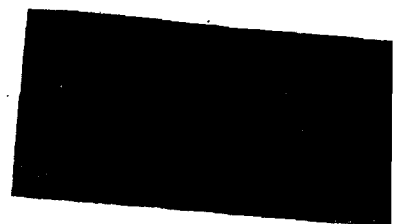
At the height of this anarchy, I had to use the bravest of men to face up to it. I had to get people who were prepared to do the job. They may have been overenthusiastic; they have been a little more perverted than they should be, and excesses may have taken place. We have now eased them out from their charges, because they're no more required for that type of activity.

Have you remanded people into custody for abuses?

Of course. I have a little over 100 men in the armed forces and police who will be court martialed.

Do you have any personal feelings about what happened over the last year? A lot of innocent people died.

I have a feeling for our people. I am a practicing Buddhist. I look at it from a philosophical angle. If a bunch of criminals are killing innocent people and I fold my arms and look the other way, I feel I am conniving. I did not want this society decimated by a bunch of criminals. In Buddhism we are told, "Don't kill." But that doesn't mean we should allow criminals to kill. —J.C.



By John Colmey

COLOMBO, SRI LANKA

LIKE THE PASSING OF A TROPICAL STORM, the reign of terror that ruled over southern Sri Lanka throughout 1989 is now almost over. Peace is back as farmers return to their rice fields, students to their classes, government workers to their jobs.

"We are now riding a beautiful crest," said Nival Jayaweera, the former head of the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation and now with the Norway-based Peace Research Institute. "Normalcy is returning, and people are happy."

But it will take more than the upcoming monsoons to wash away the memories of the past 15 months, when a massive uprising by the nation's youth under the Marxist banner of the militant Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (People's Liberation Front, or JVP) swept through the towns and villages of this South Asian island of 16 million people.

The movement has now been decisively crushed by government security forces. However, many innocent people died in the process, victims not only of JVP terrorists but of shadowy vigilante hit squads now widely recognized to have operated with the sanction of some officials and politicians (see *In These Times*, Sept. 13, 1989). Moreover, with many JVPers still at large, many Sri Lankans say a lasting peace will remain elusive until the government tackles the causes of the aborted uprisings.

The JVP's rise and fall: Founded in 1967, the JVP made a comeback two years ago by exploiting the nationalist sentiments of the majority Sinhalese over the stationing of Indian soldiers in the island's Tamil-populated north and east under the 1987 Indo-Lanka peace accord. By July of last year, the JVP, using a combination of threats and brutal murders, brought the country and its economy to a standstill with a series of unofficial work stoppages. "Things got so bad," says Ranjan Wijeratne, plantations minister and state minister for defense, that "people thought the government would fall any moment."

Under Wijeratne's direction, the government security forces responded with a ferocity unknown in Asia since Indonesia put down a similar movement in 1965. At the height of the conflict last fall, as many as 50 people were killed each day, their bodies left burning under piles of tires by the sides of roads, in town squares or in schoolyards. The final toll is estimated to be as high as 30,000 civilians, according to military sources. The actual number will never be known, due to emergency regulations that allowed authorities to dispose of bodies without a public inquest. "One day they are going to unearth the remains of victims around police stations and army camps," says one resident of the south, "and it's going to look like Nazi Germany."

By December, security forces had wiped out most of the JVP's top leadership. But the JVP is not dead. Military sources say that as many as 1,000 hard-core combatants are trying to reorganize from jungle bases.

"The JVP is like a firebrand under the ashes," says one villager. "If the ashes are blown away, the firebrand could start again."

A source close to the JVP says, however, that members who escaped the government's dragnet have buried the weapons and gone underground. "Given another three months," says a confident Wijeratne, "the so-called JVP will be virtually non-existent."

In light of the improved security situation, President Ranasinghe Premadasa's govern-

ment has repealed many of the emergency regulations, including the ban on public meetings and the fight to enter private homes without a search warrant. The hit squads, according to politicians, have been disbanded. In early May, the government announced that all offensive military operations would cease "until further notice." At the same time, it has established independent surrender committees, made up of representatives of 10 political parties, which the government hopes will lessen the fear of insurgents still in hiding. The committees will review the cases of "surrenderers" and release those who have committed minor offenses, giving them an official certificate of innocence. According to one committee member who reviewed several cases last week, about 30 percent of JVP suspects "didn't know what they were getting into."

"One day they are going to unearth the remains of victims around police stations and army camps and it's going to look like Nazi Germany."

Out of their minds: For its part, the army has also started a "hearts and minds" campaign that, according to Secretary to the Ministry of Defense Gen. Cyril Ranatunge, is intended to show a still-fearful populace that "the security forces are concerned about their well-being." As part of the campaign, the security forces have sponsored rock concerts in southern towns and organized develop-

ment projects to rehabilitate hospitals and public buildings.

In Matara, where the troubles started, army officers tour villages with a video of the well-furnished safe house of the late JVP leader Rohana Wijeweera (though some say the army planted many of the items in the house—a refrigerator, imported liquor and a color TV—after Wijeweera's death). In Gaul, the army has organized a training program for unemployed youth in vocations ranging from carpentry to auto mechanics, but Ranatunge admits that many are reluctant to apply because "they're not quite sure if they will be locked up."

Wijeratne says the government will lift the remaining emergency regulations as soon as it works out certain "legal details" involving the 12,500 JVP suspects now held without being charged in army and police detention camps around the south. "We are trying to amend the laws to keep them in custody and take them to court," says Wijeratne. "Otherwise, we would have to bail them out."

Among the more troublesome details is the question of whether confessions made under duress—read torture—should be allowed in court. So far, however, that hasn't been a problem—the government has set up special courts, without juries, to hear their cases. Wijeratne says a little under 5,000 "will have to spend the rest of their lives in jail." Others are gradually being released or sent to rehabilitation camps for three to six months, where they receive vocational training in the mornings and while away their afternoons. Some are afraid of being on the outside. "A lot of people disappear as soon as they get home," says one detainee.

The leftovers: Some officials privately say that a military victory over the JVP will prove shortlived because of rampant unemploy-

Continued on page 22

A life of horror in a land of grisly retribution

For the last four hours, I've sat here trying to think of a way to describe the horror of the past year in Sri Lanka.

Imagine that you're asleep. It's a little after midnight, and the sound of two jeeps pulling into your front yard wakes you up. You try to decide whether you should get the kids and run out the back or answer the door. You go for the door.

Ten men in uniforms with M-16s are standing there. One man has on a black hood. The jeeps' plates are covered. Another man points his gun at your throat while two others go into the house, throw the furniture around, dump the drawers, grab your wife, 14-year-old son and five-year-old daughter from their bedrooms and drag them out front. While your wife and daughter scream, the man with the hood nods his head and two other men take your son and put him in the back of the jeep. They all drive off. The entire incident lasts for less than five minutes.

You spend the next two weeks going from army camp to police station trying to find your son. "We don't have him here," they respond. Two weeks later, you find a package on the front doorstep. It's your son's head. A man told me that story in February.

Imagine this time that you're on a bus going home with your husband. Your husband is talking with another man about the JVP and blames them for the hardships. Your husband gets off the bus early,

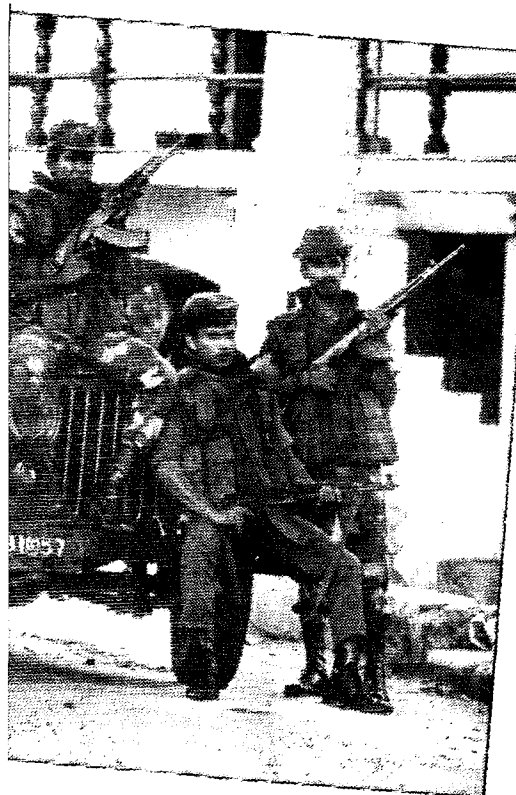
saying he is going to stop at the butcher to pick up dinner and then come right home. You get home, and he never shows up. The next day a young boy delivers a package he says is from the butcher. It's your husband's heart. The woman told me that story last November.

Imagine that you're sitting down after work with a cup of tea. Two soldiers come to the door and say they picked up your 13-year-old son at school and won't return him until you deliver to them your second son, who is hiding in Colombo because he got mixed up with the JVP. You spend the next two weeks going from camp to camp trying to find your first son, but he's disappeared. No one knows anything. I was told that story three weeks ago.

Or imagine that you're driving to the beach and see 172 bodies beside the road, each one shot in the head, most burning under piles of tires, some laying in pools of blood, their hands and feet bound with rope. I witnessed that horrifying scene last December.

Last, imagine you're a journalist. If you write about what you've seen over the last year, the odds are good that the jeeps will pull up in your front yard, like they did last month when another journalist was taken away. But at the same time, one of the world's worst atrocities in recent memory is about to be officially buried, the truth never to be known.

So you decide to write it. Imagine. —J.C.



EDITORIAL



Illinois Sen. Paul Simon pushes a new liberal coalition, asserting that "one Republican Party is enough."

Left Democrats form a new coalition

When Illinois' Sen. Paul Simon announced that he was running for president in 1988, he initially took a strong stand against the direction that Democratic Party leaders had taken during the Reagan years. "One Republican Party is enough," Simon said. If the Democrats want to win, he insisted, the party would have to return to its former role as the representative of working people, of the "little guy." Simon himself had a record of opposing aid to the contras and favoring cuts in military spending, and he advocated progressive income taxes and guaranteed minimum-wage jobs to anyone seeking them.

In his campaign, Simon allowed most of those issues to fade from view, and after he came in second in the Iowa caucuses, so did he. But now Simon has revived his old slogan. He has joined a group of 38 Democratic members of Congress, led by Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D-OH), that is seeking to create a new organization aimed at moving the party to the left. The group includes eight senators and 30 representatives who have been dissatisfied with the direction of the party, and especially with the Democratic Leadership Council—a group of neoliberal Democrats who have mimicked the Reagan and Bush administrations on military spending and foreign-policy issues. Last week the new group, which calls itself the Coalition for Democratic Values, sent an initial recruitment letter to all Democratic members of Congress and announced that Heather Booth, longtime Chicago political organizer and head of Citizen Action, would serve as the new coalition's director.

The emergence of the coalition is an encouraging sign. Popular discontent with politics and with politicians unconcerned with the needs of their constituents has reached an all-time high. In many places and on many issues there has been increasing popular activity, but it has been sporadic, fragmented and lacking any sign of leadership at the national level. The coalition emerges at a time of great need to move American politics off dead center. We have had a one-party system masquerading as a two-party system for many years. It has been held together by the Cold War and the Democrats' fears that they would be deemed unpatriotic if they opposed a militarized economy.

All that is beginning to change now that the Cold War has ended. The opportunity for a new politics is clearly at hand, and any movement toward it can only be welcomed. Even so, the new coalition will have to do more than nibble at the edges of public policy. Otherwise it will suffer the same fate that Simon did in 1988.

Bush's commission recommends escalation of state terror

The presidential commission investigating the December 1988 bombing of Pan-American's Flight 103 over Scotland finally issued its report last week. Much of the report was taken up with technical suggestions for improving security at airports here and abroad—and with criticism of Pan-American for a "pattern of complacency," both before and after the bombing. But the commission also urged that terrorism must be "confronted at its source," by which it meant with military retaliation, including strikes against alleged state sponsors.

The irony here is the possibility that the bombing of Flight 103 was itself an act of retaliation against the United States for its shooting down of an Iranian passenger airliner over the Persian Gulf in July of 1988. That act of state terrorism was never adequately apologized for, nor were the families of the victims adequately compensated. Perhaps, in their frustration over the arrogance of American power, the victims decided to "confront" this act of terror as close to its source as they could.

But the blindness and futility in the commission's suggestion goes beyond this particular possibility. We would also like to see terrorism confronted at its source. In fact, we think such a confrontation is long overdue. But instead of threatening retaliation, it would be good to start that confrontation by considering why it is that Americans have long been the main targets of international terrorists. We wish the commission had thought a bit about this. If they had, they might have concluded that the best way to reduce terrorism is not to threaten an escalation of state terror but to change American attitudes toward the peoples of the Third World and alter the administration's policies of neocolonialism.

IN THESE TIMES

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LETTERS

Human rights

MUCH PRAISE TO *IN THESE TIMES* AND TERRY Allen for your recent coverage of the annual meeting of the U.N. Human Rights Commission (*ITT*, April 25). It was particularly useful that Allen defined both "first-generation" rights (political and civil rights), emphasized by capitalist countries, and "second-generation" rights (economic and social rights), as promoted by socialist countries. Our corporate-dominated governments have long resisted recognizing that the latter should be considered as rights. Allen rightly points out that the U.S. is living in the 18th century on this, even as newly emerging democracies are seeing the need for a synthesis of both first- and second-generation rights. This will make it even harder for us to keep up with the world when they start to incorporate the "third-generation" (ecological-environmental) rights.

The U.S. is in a particularly weak position on human rights, our government being among the few that have never ratified the U.N.'s covenants on human rights. This enables our leaders to ignore them without any "legal" violation if they decide to do so. They seem to fear giving up that privilege. This also points out the major weakness of the U.N., that it is a gathering place for world governments not always representative of their common people.

Gordon Blaha
Cincinnati, Ohio

Equal respect

THANKS TO *IN THESE TIMES* AND DAVID RAFAEL Smith for his intelligent article on Malcolm Forbes (*ITT*, April 18). This is exactly the sort of sensible, balanced integration of gay-related issues into "straight" media that is invariably missing in the so-called liberal news media.

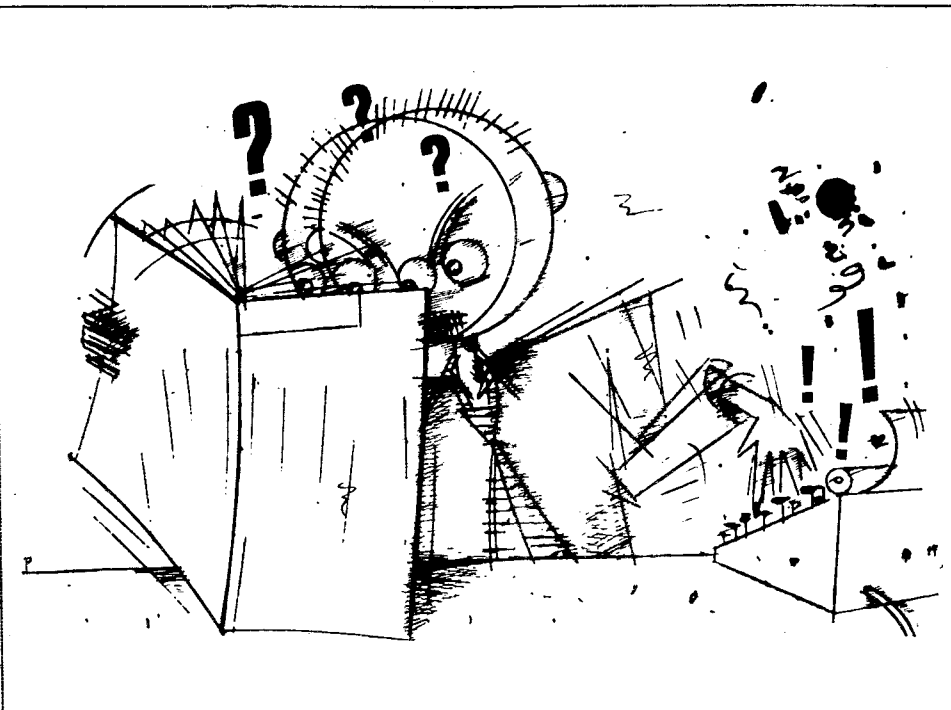
While there may always be a gay social subculture, the distinction between most gay-related news and mainstream news is largely a homophobic fiction. After all, federal health-care policies and civil rights court cases affect all Americans equally (to name the two issues that consume 80 percent of all gay community news). Fair or not, the burden of dispelling this fiction and giving gay-related news equal respect falls heavily on the media and particularly on the progressive media, a responsibility *In These Times* has smoothly accepted.

Finally, Smith's analysis of the Forbes story is itself a sound insight. While others have an adolescent preoccupation with "outing," Smith rightly points out that no newspaper considers it "outing" to discuss the heterosexual misadventures of our cultural icons. Unfortunately, most newsmen can't see past the word "gay" to understand the true value or impact of a news item. To this self-blinded media, any item to which they have attached the gay label will always be "gay news"—as if information could "belong to" certain people.

David Enos
Los Angeles

Left out

I WAS DISAPPOINTED IN PHILIP GOUREVITCH'S article on the 1990 Census (*ITT*, April 25). Gourevitch complains about the gross undercount of the homeless on the streets



and in shelters on March 20 and 21. I agree with what he says on this count. But he ignores the largest group of homeless persons—those doubled up with friends and relatives. They live in seriously overcrowded conditions, and their presence is often a violation of the lease. These people are not David and Ricky moving back in with Ozzie and Harriet between college and a job. Their friends and relatives are poor too. Also, quite often, they would be in a shelter if one existed in their area, or if the one that exists wasn't full.

Doubtless, the other part of the census which is to include a count of those doubled up will be found to be as flawed as the March 20-21 count, but it can't be ignored. To do so is to write off over half the homeless without a fight. Please do not help perpetuate this serious sin of omission.

Allan Timke
President, Heartland Coalition
for the Homeless

Victim as oppressor

I AM A RECENT SUBSCRIBER TO *IN THESE TIMES* AND I don't know how you view the *intifada* and the Israeli reaction to it, but I would hope that your editorial staff is capable of writing as moving an editorial about the sufferings of the Palestinians under the racist oppression of the Israelis as it did about anti-Semitism and anti-black racism (*ITT*, May 2), with an equally appalling quarter-page photograph of tortured or dead Palestinians. At least the victims of the Holocaust are not now actively tormented and the oppressors' hand has been stayed.

But the Palestinians are now living in

daily fear of the occupier's arbitrary and vindictive power. And we can help them by refusing to prop up the Israeli economy with vast infusions of American dollars.

Perhaps in your editorial you can address the question of how it is possible that a people like the Jews, so sensitized by their historical suffering, can perpetrate similar crimes against other human beings. This problem will not go away, even if it is largely ignored by the press of this country, even by the "liberal" press, to its shame, to its incredible shame.

Donna Cotner
San Jose, Calif.

Disservice

IN HIS ARTICLE "OVERSIGHT OF WORKPLACE HAZARDS" (*ITT*, April 25), David Moberg stated that "96 percent of workers who file OSHA complaints are subsequently fired." I would like to know his source for this statistic. Since OSHA keeps the names of complainants confidential, it would be very difficult to compile that kind of information. A paper that spouts off unbelievable numbers without naming the source and checking its validity loses all credibility.

By discouraging readers from filing a complaint with OSHA, you've done them a grave disservice.

Beth Mohr
Menlo Park, Calif.

David Moberg replies: I garbled the statistics. Of the 3,000 or more workers who annually file complaints to the Department of Labor that they have been fired for exercising their Occupational Safety and Health Act

rights, only about 6 percent succeed in regaining their jobs. Complaints to OSHA are supposed to be confidential, but that often is not the case (see story on page 8). Nobody knows what percentage of health and safety whistleblowers are fired, but nearly 60 percent of OSHA inspectors think workers have either "little or no" or only "some" protection from employer retaliation when they report safety violations, according to a 1989 General Accounting Office survey.

Tried and true

THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY (SLP) HAS BEEN TELLING it like it is for the last 100 years. They know exactly what socialism is and exactly how to get there.

That's why when I read articles such as "Market socialism: the makings for practical politics—particularly in the U.S." (*ITT*, May 9), I wonder: why isn't the SLP included in such a debate? Have you not heard of the SLP? Or, if you have, and disagree with them, why don't you at least say why you disagree?

Joe Randell
Bellingham, Wash.

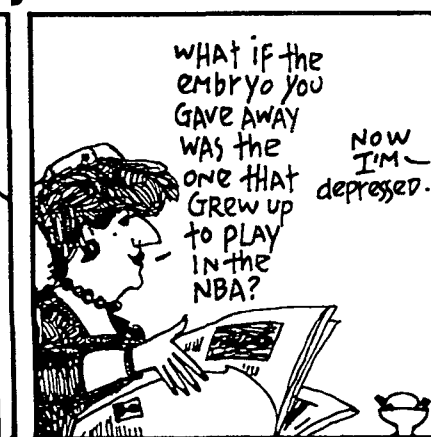
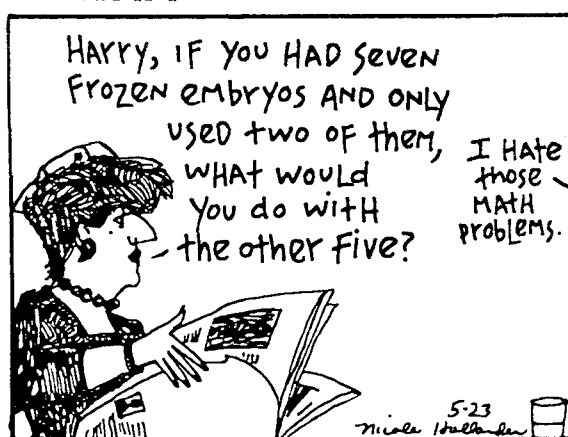
Editor's note: A hundred years is a long time to test an exact idea. We have heard of the Socialist Labor Party, and we wish it luck. We don't bother saying why we disagree because we prefer to spend our limited energy and resources on ideas and movements that we believe to have more relevance to current concerns.

Correction

The word "no" was omitted from a crucial sentence in Philip Gourevitch's article, "A dark night for America's homeless" (*ITT*, April 25). The article documented the faulty methodology of the Census Bureau's recent attempt to count homeless people. Our misprint created the impression that the Census Bureau intended to correct a mistake in its method, which is not the case. The sentence in question should read: "But while preliminary reports from these studies indicate that only about 55 percent of the homeless at S-Night sites were counted, the bureau has no plans to develop a corrective model to adjust their figures accordingly."

Editor's note: Please keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander

U.S. to Havana: fuzzy lines and \$29 million lost

By Karin Perkins

NOW WELL INTO ITS 90-DAY, \$7.5 MILLION trial run, TV Marti has proven to be an economic and diplomatic scam. Not only does the beaming of anti-Castro programs toward Havana over non-short wave channels violate international law but, because Cuba is jamming the broadcasts, U.S. taxpayers are paying millions for a project that is producing little more than fuzzy lines on Cuban television screens. Since testing began on the United States Information Agency (USIA) project March 27, Cuba, as promised, has intercepted the signals coming from a balloon floating 10,000 feet above Cudjole Air Force Base in Florida. On April 24, Havana also began disrupting transmission of Radio Marti, whose programming had gone unchallenged since the facility became operational in 1985.

Between Radio and TV Marti, neither of which now reaches Cuban households, Washington will be pouring \$29 million a year down the drain. According to Pennsylvania State University's John Nichols, the Castro regime has to spend as little as one-half of 1 percent of the cost of the U.S. projects to jam the signals.

Intended as part of the White House's expanded anti-Castro campaign aimed more at placating extremist elements of the Miami Cuban-American community than at undermining communism, the phantom TV

project has resulted instead in sharp criticism throughout the hemisphere. This has further tarnished a U.S. image already damaged by the invasion of Panama. Latin American political leaders have opposed TV Marti both as an affront to Cuba's sovereignty and because it violates the International Telecommunications Convention of 1982, signed by both Cuba and the U.S.

A December meeting of representatives of broad-ranging regional political parties

Because Cuba is jamming the broadcasts, U.S. taxpayers are paying millions for a project that is producing little more than fuzzy lines on Cuban television screens.

denounced the controversial program. Just as they did against Radio Marti, U.S. broadcasters have also criticized the TV Marti project, arguing that Havana had the technology to retaliate easily by interfering with radio and TV broadcasts throughout

this country. When speaking recently to delegates of the National Association of Broadcasters about this possibility, President Bush lamely argued that, while he "understands the practical concerns" over TV Marti, "before we are businessmen and women ... we are Americans."

Interestingly, before the TV Marti testing phase began, Cuba suggested that the two countries exchange more television programs. However, Washington, which also has banned ABC's broadcasts from Havana of the 1991 Pan American Games, could not deny itself the pleasure of taking a poke at Castro while further ingratiating itself with Miami barrios.

When the trial phase of TV Marti ends in mid-July, USIA will present an evaluation of the program's record to congressional appropriations committees for the final go-ahead. It will be TV Marti's own largely Cuban-American staff who will do the survey, thus guaranteeing a favorable outcome.

Following the extremely ugly ousting last year of Radio Marti's longtime director, Ernesto Betancourt, by USIA officials, who, Betancourt asserts, are "dominated by the Cuban American National Foundation and its chairman, Jorge Mas Canosa," USIA has degenerated into being a mouthpiece for anti-Castro propaganda. Miami-based Mas has gained much of his power through his

ability to dominate House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Dante Fascell (D-FL), whose Dade County constituency has demographically shifted to a Cuban-American majority.

Betancourt, a highly regarded anti-Castro exile, had earned Mas' ire by voicing opposition to TV Marti on the grounds of its illegality. He was hastily replaced by novice Antonio Navarro, a close associate of the Miami caudillo. Illustrating exactly who wields effective power over Washington's Cuba policy, Mas, who reportedly has fantasies of being president of a post-Castro Cuba and who gains much of his political leverage from being a business associate of President Bush's son Jeb, ignored official procedure and made a deal with Miami's Channel 32 to broadcast to Cuba this winter.

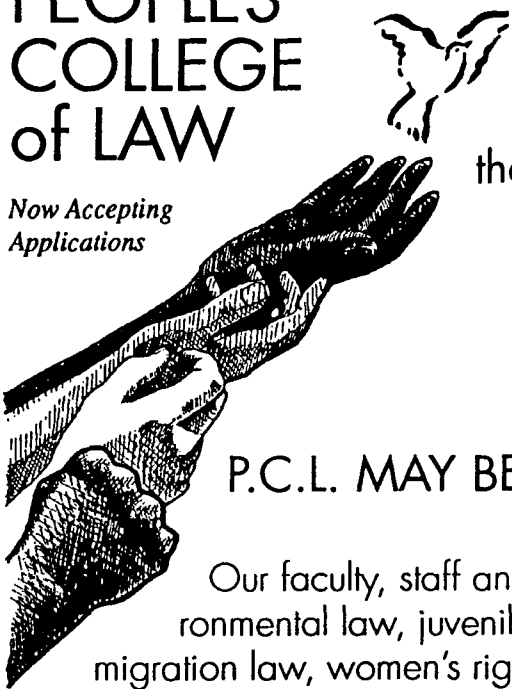
While the editorial guidelines of the Voice of America, which formally presides over both Radio and TV Marti, state that the programming "must not be bent to suit a person, ideological conviction or that of any special-interest group, organization or government," the U.S. taxpayer is now paying for the political visions of Mas and his cronies.

Given the lack of political courage in Congress since the departure of House Speaker Jim Wright, it is a near-certainty that the White House will receive the go-ahead to continue dumping \$18 million annually into this pathetic project.

Karin Perkins is a research associate at the Washington, D.C.-based Council on Hemispheric Affairs.

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By Charles A. Gardner

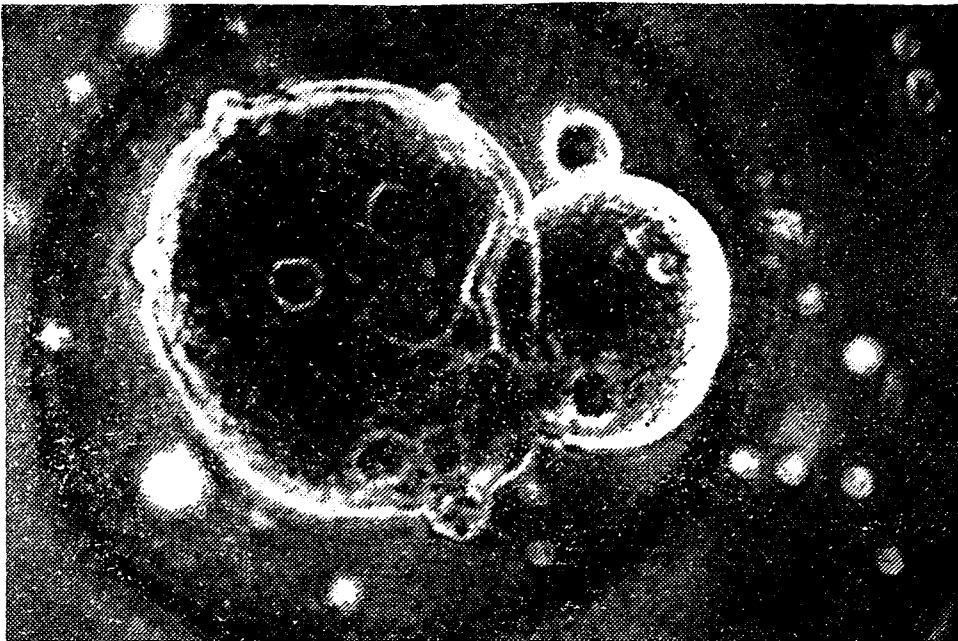
ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF LAST NOVEMBER'S Washington, D.C., pro-choice rally, near the foot of the reflecting pool, one small political button lay for sale on a blanket among hundreds of others. "Biology is not Destiny." Strange sentiment at first. But the words do have special significance: restrictive abortion laws recently passed or pending in many states have been influenced by a peculiar argument, one that contradicts the simple message on that button. The argument was put forth by abortion opponents who maintain that biological science has proved that a complete human being exists from the moment of conception. Our government, they say, must not allow the "abortion holocaust" to continue unchecked. But unnoticed in the recent storm of anti-abortion rhetoric, and embedded in this attempt to stir our deepest emotions against abortion, lies a small historical irony from the real Holocaust.

As Robert Proctor observed in his book *Radical Hygiene: Medicine Under the Nazis*, the now-abandoned science of eugenics was coopted by German racial extremists in the '30s. Eugenics taught that the results of simple animal breeding experiments were applicable to human populations. Genes seemed all-important, seemed to control every facet of life. Racial hygienists believed that physicians and, ultimately, the state should act to preserve good genes and to eliminate unhealthy ones from the gene pool. Never mind how to distinguish the good from the bad. Never mind what influence the environment has on physical and mental health. To purify the "germ plasm" racial hygienists advocated the extermination of lives "not worth living." The result was atrocity almost beyond comprehension. Can it be that abortion is a modern-day equivalent of this holocaust?

The anti-abortion view is, of course, that embryos are demonstrably human beings. Paul Ramsey, former professor of religion at Princeton University, expresses the argument clearly. According to Ramsey, science has proved "what religion never could. The human individual comes into existence first as a minute informational speck, drawn at random from many other minute informational specks his parents possessed out of the common human gene pool.... Thereafter, his subsequent development may be described as a process of becoming the one he already is. Genetics teaches that we were from the beginning what we essentially still are in every cell and in every human and individual attribute."

Dr. Jack Willke, president of the National Right to Life Committee, agrees. He points to the 46 chromosomes first present in a fertilized egg—Ramsey's "informational specks"—and calls that cell "a being completely intact and containing within himself or herself the totality of everything that that being will ever be."

This view, so often expressed in anti-abortion literature, deserves close attention. It is, of course, silly to think that moral questions can be resolved scientifically. Yet this near-deification of the DNA has had a gut-level impact on many people; it may represent the only serious argument against abortion independent of religious teachings and church tradition. It should also sound disturbingly familiar. According



'Biological destiny' line subverts pro-life claims of fetal holocaust

to Ramsey and Willke, genes are all-important; they control every facet of the pre-programmed formation of the embryo.

But such an absolutist vision of biological destiny is myopically wrong, and not just because of its similarity to the eugenics of the '30s. It is wrong because the real world doesn't work that way. Ramsey and Willke have both erred in their interpretation of biology. This may puzzle readers of the science section of the *New York Times*. Newspapers and magazines have not conveyed the message very well. But there is now (and has been for a rather long time) general agreement at the forefront of embryo research that the so-called "genetic program" is not exactly *fait accompli* for an embryo.

A little background: We have learned a lot since the '30s. We know now that the "totality" of a person is not programmed; human beings are just too complicated for the pattern of an individual fingerprint or, more importantly, of an organ as complex as the human brain to be specified in that first cell. Biology leaves the details to the whims of embryonic development.

Researchers have discovered, simply, that genes are not omnipotent. Both the maternal environment outside the embryo and an unpredictable randomness inside the embryo have their effect at every step on the long journey of formation. Rewind the tape of prenatal development, play it over again and you would end up with a different person, with different connections in the brain, with different fingerprints.

Likewise, genetically identical embryos will not make identical human beings. Whether a healthy fertilized egg cell spontaneously aborts (as it may do), fails to develop a brain (anencephaly) or develops "normally" is not predictable, no matter how much we know about the starting conditions in that egg cell. Whether the embryo develops into a schoolteacher, an Einstein or a concert pianist depends not only upon a child's environment after birth but also upon trillions of fortuitous coincidences during the formation of the brain before birth.

The biological details that make up a human being arise only with the passage

of time. They are not contained in a fertilized egg cell. With its genetic inheritance and the passage of time, that cell may tend toward certain general characteristics. But only through the enactment of the process of development do individual characteristics come into existence. The fertilized egg cell does not contain its fate, just as a grape seed does not contain wine.

These observations, while they still fail to resolve our moral questions, should have their own gut-level impact on the abortion debate.

Where does this leave "the abortion holocaust"?

"Heredity is important—but we, as biological beings, are more than informational specks."

One abortion opponent has written a book on the subject (*The Abortion Holocaust*, by Dr. William Brennan). Willke devoted an entire chapter of his book, *Abortion: Questions and Answers*, to the Holocaust. But the comparison they make is not

valid.

The Nazi Holocaust remains among the most nightmarish horrors of this century. Millions of Jews, Gypsies and "mental defectives" were labeled as contaminants of the Aryan racial germ plasm. Yet while millions of human beings were murdered in the death camps, the killers never questioned whether or not those dying were human beings—they were just thought to be genetically diseased human beings.

The story is quite different for the embryo. Today abortion is a legal option for any pregnant woman in the U.S.—if she has the money to pay for it. Contraceptives, like the pill or intrauterine devices, are available which act not to prevent fertilization but to block the implantation and development of healthy fertilized egg cells. Yet the eggs or embryos affected by these practices have, until recently, never been considered human beings. Before the mid-1800s the Roman Catholic Church treated abortion before quickening (about four months) only as a sin against marriage. The early embryo was not thought to be "ensouled." Almost all abortions in the U.S. are now performed in the first four months of pregnancy. For most of the last 2,000 years the modern practice of abortion would not have been considered murder even by the Catholic Church.

Now a vocal minority tells us that abortion is murder, murder on a scale that dwarfs the Nazi Holocaust.

The sad irony is that those who would resurrect the Holocaust to fight against abortion promote exactly the same flawed "scientific" arguments once used by the Nazis to justify the Holocaust. They distort the obvious properties of embryonic cells to deterministic extremes. Of course biology must set some limits on human form and behavior. Heredity is important, but we, as biological beings, are more than "informational specks"—we are, essentially, human beings. In an odd way, genetic information cannot tell the fertilized egg exactly where to go, though it can provide the mechanisms for getting there. Having arrived, we are both physically and conceptually more than the single cell in our mother's womb. "Biology is," most definitely, "not destiny."

Charles A. Gardner is conducting doctoral research at the University of Michigan on early brain development. He is currently working on a book, *The Cheshire Gene*.

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ACADEME



Tenured Radicals: How Politics Has Corrupted Our Higher Education

By Roger Kimball
Harper & Row
224 pp., \$18.95

By Robert S. Boynton

IMAGINE YOU ARE A MEMBER OF A TRIBE about which a scholarly ethnography is written. On reading it, you are shocked to find how terribly your society is misunderstood. Familiar laws and rituals have become historically specific practices for legitimating hegemonic power configurations, sacred texts are seen as flawed documents whose authors have since been surpassed and congenial local institutions have been translated into evolving structures whose meaning is debated and function disputed.

Alarmed by these distortions, you set out to correct the anthropologist's more egregious errors and obfuscations, to protest the use of a vocabulary that misrepresents your tribe. But how does the native actually defend his view against the insights of social science? There are few arguments one can make against the offending interpretations, and it is not clear whether the native and anthropologist could agree about what constitutes a valid argument in the first place. In order to make his point, the native must simply tell a better story.

In *Tenured Radicals*, Roger Kimball is an irate native as he excoriates radical academics who use their anthropologist-like detachment to divide up the university. A

Tribes and diatribes: cutting paths in the academic jungle

member of the neoconservative tribe gathered around chieftan Hilton Kramer (to whom the book is dedicated and who, no doubt, inspires Kimball's preposterous use of Kramer's Spenglerian trademark—"alas"), Kimball's attack is familiar: politics has invaded culture, causing liberal academics to abandon the disinterested pursuit of knowledge in favor of guerrilla warfare led by feminists, blacks, Marxists, homosexuals and other "special interests."

Barbarians 'R' Us: Theory dominates literature, pop culture blurs the distinction between high and low and deliberately obscure jargon trivializes scholarship. Nothing less than the cultural identity of the New Critics is under siege. Kimball's call to arms is not against the barbarians waiting at the gate but against those in the dean's office writing next semester's course catalogue.

So what's new in all this? Does *Tenured Radicals* merely flesh out Allan Bloom's sweeping argument from *The Closing of the American Mind*? Publicity for *Tenured Radicals* promised it would "name names," perhaps an ill-chosen phrase for a book that accuses the academic left of McCarthyite tactics.

Because Kimball wants to show that there is evidence for Bloom's charges, we are treated to a virtual cornucopia of modern academia: a

conference at Yale's Whitney Humanities Center where it is asserted that "gynophobia is structured like a language" and the U.S. Constitution is likened to a "Gothic romance," an analysis of "Smokin' in the Boys' Room" by a distinguished scholar of MTV, an exhaustive account of "politicized obscurantism" in the journal *October*, an architecture symposium at Princeton where we learn that "the essence of the act of architecture is the dislocation of an ever-reconstituting metaphysic of architecture." This is what happens when you leave education in the hands of the '60s generation, Kimball scolds.

The point is not exactly subtle,

If Kimball has good arguments against liberalization of the curriculum and the blurred distinctions between politics and culture, they are conspicuously absent.

but neither, he contends, is the rampant politicization he decries. Although Kimball is often wickedly successful in lampooning the academy's obvious perversities, he rarely summons his analytic powers to construct an argument—something that would require more work and less sarcasm than he's up for here. This failing would be less odd, however, if it were not for the book's polemical leitmotif—that academic leftists rely more on attitude than argument, preferring to parrot jargon concocted by the likes of Derrida, Benjamin and Lacan rather than think for themselves.

Skewed criterion: If Kimball has good arguments against the liberalization of the curriculum, the influence of deconstruction, the blurred distinctions between philosophy and literature or between politics and culture, they are conspicuously absent. This is too bad, as Kimball's pieces in the otherwise soporific *New Criterion* are often filled with finely honed, at times extremely witty, critiques of current intellectual trends.

But in *Tenured Radicals*, we never learn why Kimball's curriculum should be privileged over others. We never get an account that would give us a better idea of what he is fighting for. If there is a philosophically interesting distinction to be made

within the dichotomies above, Kimball might be the one to do it. But here he offers merely an extended description of the way "we" think things ought to be done—"we" being something akin to unreconstructed New Critics pining for the days when they reigned unchallenged.

All the rage, half the story: *Tenured Radicals* expresses the rage of a generation of neoconservatives mourning the loss of the university they once loved. After a kind of intellectual gerrymandering, the disciplinary boundaries were altered. Where literature was once divided by genre, it is now also cut up into race and gender; periods of history distinguished by century now also take class into account.

This rupture is the legacy of 19th-century social science, a development that intrudes upon the traditional seamless humanist narrative. Whether and why one mode of analysis dominates another is a question at the heart of the debate over what it means to be an educated person, and, at his best, Kimball appreciates the debate's complexity. At his worst, he believes that only those on the right address the question with sufficient seriousness. It is this intolerance that most damages Kimball's contentious but heartfelt effort.

The rigid separation between culture and politics, which is the cornerstone of Kimball's philosophical vision, leads to a certain emptiness on both sides of the divide. The most appalling example of Kimball's political naivete comes in a chapter on the journal *October*. After lambasting *October* for its overly cerebral politics and devotion to the willfully obscure, Kimball writes that a special issue devoted to AIDS is important because the "example it provides of how even a disease may be politicized and recruited to serve the cause of radical politics merits careful attention." That AIDS is a disease whose implications are shot through with politics, especially for the artistic community, seems unimportant to Kimball.

Throughout the book, Kimball drops hints of his rhetorical strategy, especially when discussing Emerson. "Whatever virtues Emerson possessed, his was not a philosophical mind," Kimball writes. "He did not argue, he declaimed, he preached. What he wrote was not philosophy but a species of hortatory essay." Subtract the intended pejorative tone and this could be said of Kimball, who in essence wants to do the same thing.

But finally, is Kimball's impassioned "report from the front," his description of the perils of ideology and radical politics, enough to convince the reader to abandon the fruits of postmodernity, redraw the academic map and go native? Alas, no.

Robert S. Boynton is a staff reporter at *Manhattan, Inc.*

By Nan Levinson

NEA: come Helms and high water

SEN. JESSE HELMS (R-NC) WENT on a fishing expedition last November, writing to National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) Chairman John Frohnmayer that he was "curious" about funding for nine artists and eight arts groups. In a November 7 letter, part of the correspondence obtained by the *Los Angeles Times* through the Freedom of Information Act, Helms demanded details about "Witness: Against Our Vanishing," an exhibit of art about AIDS at Artists Space in New York; it contained, he said, "sex-

FUNDING

ually explicit homosexual photographs." Later that month, the NEA asked Artists Space to relinquish a \$10,000 grant it had been awarded because the NEA decided the exhibit was primarily a political statement. **What Jesse wants:** A mural painted on the Pathfinder Building in New York City featuring portraits of political figures including Malcolm X, Nelson Mandela and Fidel Castro was defaced in December, a month after its unveiling. During that month, the *New York Post* and *Daily News* ran editorials denouncing the mural and calling for its removal.

In February, the community board of a New York neighborhood near the U.N. turned down a mural to be painted by Russian émigré artists Komar and Malamid, saying that they "couldn't approve the placement of a provocative mural in a historical district where a lot of demonstrations will attract vandalism and graffiti."

In March, letters sent to recipients of the 1990 NEA creative-writing fellowships included the caveat that if the writers planned to write anything that "may be considered obscene," they should not accept the \$20,000 grant. Works of "serious literary, artistic, political or scientific value" were exempted, which may be the reason none of the recipients has so far refused to sign the restriction and forfeit the money.

Early in April, the sheriff of Ohio's Hamilton County closed down the Contemporary Arts Center in Cincinnati on the day an exhibition of photographs by the late Robert Mapplethorpe opened. Until the sheriff evacuated the show, it had attracted the largest crowds for an exhibit Cincinnati had seen. The museum and its director, Dennis Barrie, were charged with pandering obscenity and using minors in pornography. Later the sheriff announced that the case was outside his jurisdiction, but the city solicitor took over and pre-trial hearings took place on April 29.

Also in April, *Reader's Digest*, an avatar of middlebrow attitudes, ran an article entitled "Our Tax Dollars for This Kind of Art?" It concluded that "Congress certainly has the re-

sponsibility to voice the public's concerns as it allocates the public's money," something that could be said about a number of federal funding programs but generally isn't by *Reader's Digest*.

Loaded for boor: The list goes on and on, replete with ironies and brave new ways of stigmatizing art that might offend, confuse or create controversy. It's enough to make a body suspicious, though more likely than conspiracy is an understanding that it's open hunting season on the arts, with censorship as the weapon of choice.

Reformers' zeal is not a new phenomenon in America, of course; it shows up regularly as prudery and hyperpatriotism. In the past decade it has taken the form of populist censorship and freelance vigilantism in which outraged citizens all over the political spectrum (mothers against rock music, feminists against pornography, nearly everyone against something on TV) seek to limit what we can see, hear and read. Making sophisticated use of the tools of the marketplace—direct mail and boycotts—they have succeeded, if not in eradicating the objects of their displeasure, then in making producers and sponsors think carefully about trying anything potentially controversial.

The recent spate of censorship, however, is focused on the non-profit or non-commercial sector of the arts, the part that relies on grants as much if not more than earned income for survival. It's axiomatic that the more avant garde, daring or unconventional an arts group, the more dependent on government grants it's likely to be and, therefore, the more vulnerable to political pressure.

Marginal arts groups are a particularly appealing target right now because the NEA is involved in a periodic reauthorization process in which Congress decides whether and under what terms to extend its legislative mandate for another five years. In the past reauthorization has been more or less automatic, and it

seems likely that it will go through again this year. But the fallout from the battle is already much greater than congressional interference with who gets what grants.

"Obscene" and not heard: Last fall, Helms succeeded in adding to NEA guidelines a prohibition against federal funding of art that would be considered obscene under the standards set by the 1973 Supreme Court ruling (i.e., no redeeming social value). Known as the "Yates compromise," after Rep. Sidney Yates (D-IL), perhaps the NEA's most faithful supporter in Congress, this provision was considered preferable by the Endowment to a more restrictive amendment Helms was pushing at the time. And on the surface, the compromise doesn't appear to have excluded any grants the NEA would have made without it; even the Artists Space grant was restored after loud public outcry, including a refusal of the National Medal of Honor by composer Leonard Bernstein.

Nonetheless, the compromise managed to offend nearly everyone involved in the question. In March, Chairman Frohnmayer told Congress that the reauthorizing legislation proposed by the Bush administration (which he represents) would not include any "content restrictions." But neither Bush nor Frohnmayer seems a very comfortable advocate of unfettered expression; a few days later Bush told a group of out-of-town editors that "blasphemous" works funded by the NEA were deeply distasteful to him, and Frohnmayer had earlier reassured Congress that he would "be diligent that obscenity will not be funded by the Endowment."

That still wasn't good enough for the guardians of public sensibilities. On March 23, the General Accounting Office (GAO), announced that it was responding to a request from Helms to examine if the NEA had funded obscene art in violation of its guidelines. In his letter demanding the investigation, Helms cited nine projects as illegal, including the show at Artists Space.

Helms' crusade against the NEA is being spearheaded in the House by Dana Rohrabacher, a California Republican and one-time speechwriter for Ronald Reagan. Rohrabacher has written three "Dear Colleague" letters to members of Congress targeting specific artwork. The latest, on March 12, was about "Modern Primitives," an exhibit at Southern Exposure, an artists' organization in San Francisco and another of the groups Helms named in his letters to Frohnmayer and the GAO.

Typical of Rohrabacher's letters, this one got the funding facts wrong. Southern Exposure did receive \$5,000 from the NEA for general support but nothing for this exhibition, which was financed entirely by paid admissions to related events.

Nip and tuck: According to Jon Winet, Southern Exposure's director, "In the tradition of *National Geographic* and anthropological studies, the exhibition investigated contemporary body modification ranging from tattooing and piercing to tummy tucks and liposuction." According to Rohrabacher, it was "an

"Marginal" arts groups are a particularly easy target right now.

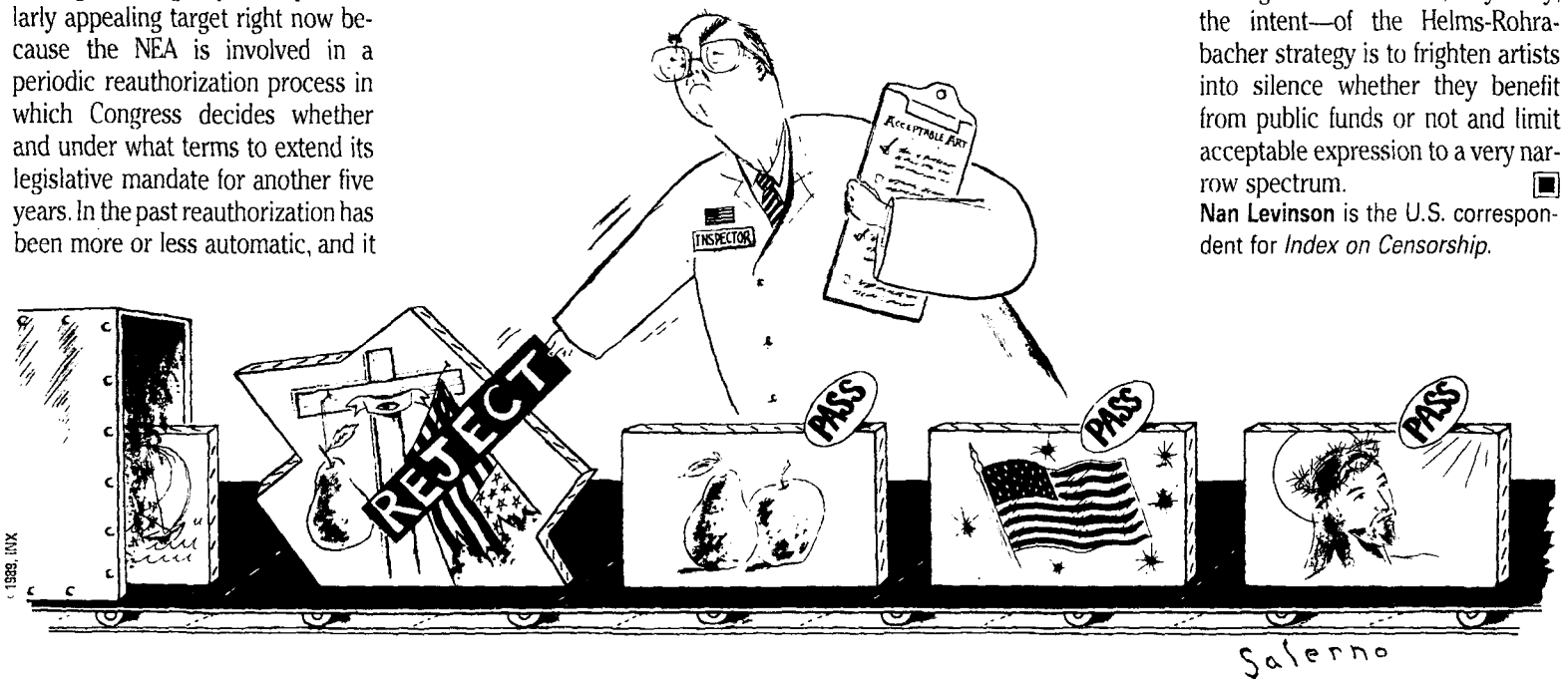
S&M show" and "utter madness that your constituents and mine are forced to pay for such things through their taxes." Pitting money for the arts against money for pre-natal care for poor women and Head Start programs, Rohrabacher's letter warned that the only way to prevent such outrage was to "get the federal government out of the arts" or "establish basic standards for the use of tax dollars."

He and Helms have protested that they do not intend to censor anyone but aim merely to protect taxpayers from paying for art they might not like. They are backed by conservative groups such as the American Family Association, based in Tupelo, Miss., whose protest last fall over a photograph by Andrés Serrano joined with the Mapplethorpe flap to start this round of NEA bashing. This March, the American Family Association organized a national mail campaign to Congress denouncing the NEA for funding "obscene, pornographic or anti-Christian 'art' exhibits."

On the other side is a new coalition of 300 arts organizations called the National Campaign for Freedom of Expression, which announced in April that it will work to defeat Helms and Rohrabacher in their re-election bids. Individuals have also begun to take action. Joseph Papp, director of the New York Shakespeare Festival, turned down a \$50,000 NEA grant at the end of April, and composer Earl Kim declined a second term as co-chair of the NEA's Music Panel, both in protest against the obscenity amendment.

Since last fall, much of the debate about NEA funding has focused on the artistic merit of the art in question and the propriety of government support for culture. Regardless of the value of those arguments, they're a smoke screen. When politicians hold up specific artists and arts groups for scrutiny and ridicule, it amounts to blacklisting: censorship masquerading as political horse-trading. The effect—and, very likely, the intent—of the Helms-Rohrabacher strategy is to frighten artists into silence whether they benefit from public funds or not and limit acceptable expression to a very narrow spectrum. ■

Nan Levinson is the U.S. correspondent for *Index on Censorship*.





Turner Broadcasting's vice president of environmental policy, Barbara Pyle, asserts that "we are no longer fringe lunatics."

The color of money—that's eco-tainment

By Bill Stamets

THE U.S. ENVIRONMENTAL FILM Festival made an auspicious debut the weekend after Earth Day in Colorado Springs, Colo. Over its three-day run, 135 films and videos were shown to an audience estimated at 10,000 by Pikes Peak Film Council President Ralph Giordano. Mixing documentaries and celebrities, planners aimed "to bring the environmental message to the public in an educational and entertaining forum."

The ambitious event attracted nearly 500 entries, as well as corporate support from Turner Broadcasting System's SuperStation, Home Box Office, Paramount Network Television, the Discovery Channel and the Disney Channel. Among them, they brought about 20 television works to this "film" festival, but none of the underwriters won any awards for their entries. And thanks to the prodigious efforts of a corps of more than 300 local volunteers, the first-time event came off with splendid organization.

But for this festival to thrive in the niche it aspires to fill, its organizers must clarify their focus. At its debut, the format was an encyclopedic gamut of topics, from acid rain, agriculture and AIDS to wilderness and

wildlife. By design or default, the outcome was a crowded overview. There appeared to be scant input by prominent environmentalists and artists. Christo, the environmental artist who incorporates his projects environmental impact studies into his art, had been invited, though. The only organizer showcased by the festival was the United Farm Workers' longtime leader Cesar Chavez, who screened his 1986 video on California pesticide poisoning, *The Wrath of Grapes*. Animal rights philosopher Peter Singer and eco-feminist theologian Elizabeth Dobson Grey were represented in documentaries.

Initially, the festival announced a goal "of fostering dialogue between environmentalists, politicians and filmmakers." Subsequent publicity statements dropped "politicians" from the agenda. Still, the U.N. Goodwill Ambassador for the Environment, Olivia Newton-John, came to Colorado Springs. Her press bio stated that the Australian-born singer once "very publicly and pointedly canceled" a Japanese tour because Japanese fishermen kill dolphins.

The local press nettled the eco-celebrities, tagging them Hollywood hypocrites. The *Gazette Telegraph* brought up allegations that Newton-John's Malibu beach house was to

blame for beach erosion. Actor LeVar Burton, from *Star Trek: The Next Generation*, had to scold the Colorado Springs NBC reporter who took a negative tack in his interview.

Stars on a roll: *St. Elsewhere*'s Ed Begley Jr. showed off his L.A. bus pass and peddled his environmental

FILM

sensitivities on a borrowed mountain bike. *Hill Street Blues* actor Charles Haid won a prize for his short film *The Last Supper* and promised to donate his \$1,000 prize to the Nature Conservancy.

Among the 10 documentaries on South American rain forests was *Chico Mendes: Voice of the Amazon*. Mendes is believed to have been as-

For the fledgling environmental film fest to thrive, its organizers must clarify their focus.

sassinated by Brazilian developers for organizing peasant tappers of rubber trees. Amnesty International claims that landowners dispatched assassins to silence unionists and clergy. Instantly, the life story of this environmental martyr turned into a hot property for Hollywood scriptwriters.

As festival director Deborah Caulfield, a former L.A. entertainment reporter, introduced a seminar on "Hollywood and the Environment," she predicted that one panelist's life story would soon show up as a TV movie. Two years ago biologist Sam LaBudde signed up for a stint as cook on a Panamanian fishing boat so he could document dolphin-killing in its tuna nets. The unsuspecting crew saw only a *yanqui loco* shooting a home video. But his damning testimony later undid the self-serving claims of the international tuna industry.

LaBudde's videotape is a vital ingredient in *Where Have All the Dolphins Gone?*, a documentary on the controversy that the Discovery Channel cablecast for Earth Day. Narrated by George C. Scott, who played a marine biologist in *Day of the Dolphin*, this production of the Marine Mammal Fund won the Best of Festival award, as well as the Broadcast Programming competi-

tion. The jury's decisions were announced at a gourmet brunch concluding the festival. LaBudde accepted his prizes and advocated an "International Green Cross" to forestall "biological Armageddon."

Fringe is "in": After giving LaBudde a hug of appreciation, Turner Broadcasting's vice president of environmental policy, Barbara Pyle, grabbed the dais for a rallying cry: "We are no longer fringe lunatics! Don't forget our mission to save the planet. Let's not slide into a self-congratulatory group of artists."

Whatever art had to do with it was hardly an item on the menu. What was ushered in was a new-age mutant genre: call it eco-tainment. The festival premiered pilots for a Saturday morning children's cartoon, a prime-time action-adventure drama and an info-tainment newsmagazine ("with a license to be experiential," as TBS producer Teya Ryan put it). Starting next fall, these television series—created by the festival's key sponsors—will showcase environmental themes and topics in every episode.

In what was perhaps the most telling interchange of the weekend, the biologist LaBudde met an actor in a TV movie/series, *The Elite*, about an international quintet of environmental experts who will save the day each week in prime-time: sort of *The A-Team* meets Earth Day. Actor Clayton Rohner plays a nuclear physicist prone to media stunts. Apparently Paramount Network Television's idea of a "virtual eco-terrorist" is a character who splashes animal blood on a CEO's limo. Jailed for parachuting off a polluter's smokestack, he harangues a prisoner for tossing a styrofoam cup on the cell floor.

At a panel discussion, LaBudde corrected Rohner's characterization of Greenpeace as a "radical" group, and carped that joining that group just gets you on so many mailing lists you end up killing more trees than you save. Celebrities on the panel plugged consumer boycotts as an eco-tactic. But LaBudde condemned the overdependence upon economic logic among moderates in the environmental movement.

Another actor from *The Elite*, Stewart Finlay-McLennan, defended bottom-line leverage turned against corporations, arguing that "people have been materialistic since the beginning of time." The Australian actor plays a Twinkie-chomping mercenary, a good ol' boy from down under. When his sidekick asks why they have flown in to save a sabotaged nuclear power plant and track down plutonium thieves, he replies, "We're cashing a check with a whole lot of zeroes." That morning Finlay-McLennan was treated to a tour of a bighorn sheep habitat that was bought purely for the sake of preservation. He later commented that he was duly impressed by the magnificent creatures and the strategy for protecting them.

Papering over problems: LaBudde countered that other species

do not exist for our enjoyment, nor does the land deserve us as owners. Ownership is ultimately abuse, he implied, citing Weyerhaeuser's ownership of land in Washington state and that paper company's "enjoyment" of the trees on it.

The Elite includes a LaBudde-like character, a maverick zoologist who acts as a vigilante on behalf of indigenous species and peoples threatened by developers. When another member of the Elite goodnaturedly calls him a "lone wolf," the humorless scientist challenges, "What do you know about wolves?"

The actors were rather new to the advanced idea of the pro-Earth vanguard. Paramount did not begin briefing them about this stuff until the shooting was over and the publicity tour was about to get underway. They felt their good intentions

were rebuffed in their first face-to-face encounter with a true-life Earth warrior, the gentle yet unyielding Sam LaBudde.

Rohner, the actor playing an activist "too radical even for Greenpeace" afterward went to a LaBudde film, *Stripmining the High Seas*, listed as containing "gut-wrenching footage of ... the senseless slaughter of ocean life." So moved by this experience, Rohner was said to have lost heart in going to his own premiere that evening.

Showing on Home Box Office May 19-29 is an end-of-the-world thermonuclear political thriller titled *By Dawn's Early Light*. The plot entails incidents of disobedience that put kinks in the chain of command, with a love story between bomber copilots tacked on. The fate of the planet hinges on multiple acts of

treason in the name of humanity. Jack Sholder, who was responsible

The local press at the environmental film festival nettled the eco-celebrities, tagging them hypocrites.

for one of the "Nightmare on Elm Street" movies, sees this cable drama as a reprise of the philosophical crux of the Nuremberg Trials.

Since the script brimmed with dissension among the Air Force, the Navy and the White House, the Defense Department offered none of the advisers and hardware it lavished on the making of *Top Gun*.

Associate producer Susan Moore added that the Pentagon could not countenance the fiction of a female in the cockpit of a SAC bomber.

Counterprogram garbage: The festival failed to "foster dialogue between filmmakers and environmentalists." At least in its first year it did not bridge even the spectrum of filmmakers who gathered in Colorado Springs. On one end were the independent documentarists (and their distributors), who are struggling in the front lines of environmental controversies. And opposite them were the high-visibility celebrities (and their publicists), who are pressuring Hollywood to incorporate eco-concerns into mainstream entertainment.

At one seminar actor LeVar Burton spoke excitedly in favor of "third-dimensional experiential Earth-

plane living" and put down the men running Hollywood for "operating from a place of unconsciousness." Actor Ed Begley Jr., who appeared in *Scenes from Class Struggle in Hollywood*, argued that "Hollywood was critical in galvanizing American sentiment in World War II when the enemy was the Axis powers; now global pollution is the enemy."

Pretty soon the panel began referring to Hollywood as the "mecca of Western consciousness." TBS' Barbara Pyle proclaimed, "TV is my weapon to turn on TV itself! We've got to counterprogram all this garbage as fast as possible." In the aftermath of last month's media overload, *Denver Post* TV critic Joanne Ostrow cracked, "Save the Planet; Watch More TV!"

Bill Stamets is a writer, photographer and video artist who lives in Chicago.

By Lauren H. Otis

Artist Richard Roederer dredges up that petrol emotion

IN THE PAST, ARTIST RICHARD ROEDERER had an interest in the natural landscape, but it was a primarily passive interest.

It took the disastrous *Exxon Valdez* oil spill in Prince William Sound and Exxon's subsequent evasion of cleanup to arouse the 36-year-old artist to turn his energies toward creating art that "went to the throat," as he puts it. The result is a provocative series of paintings and a sculpture whose notoriety has made Roederer's name familiar nationwide, not to mention in the corporate corridors of Exxon Corporation.

The sculpture, *Memorial to Planet Earth*, was first exhibited at the River Cafe, a restaurant art gallery in Roederer's native Houston. The piece consists of a life-size otter (made of polystyrene) perched atop a mailbox. Every square inch of otter and mailbox is clogged with black tar. Stuck to this gummy surface are Exxon credit cards that have been invalidated and cut in two.

In a way that glossy magazine photographs or television images cannot convey, *Memorial to Planet Earth* seen firsthand brings home the filthy befoolment of an oil spill.

Appetite for destruction: Roederer's visceral evocation of the mired Prince William Sound beaches didn't help the appetite of some Exxon employees who were patrons at the Houston restaurant. Despite cries of censorship, a group of more than two dozen petitioned the restaurant owners and had the sculpture removed.

Such experiences, in addition to generating national publicity, galvanized Roederer in his commitment to create art directed at preserving the environment. He says he has received hate mail from Exxon employees as a result of his work. Although he finds it disconcerting, he says this is a positive development, because it means "my piece is bothering the right people."

Memorial to Planet Earth and Roederer's accompanying "Exxop" paintings subsequently traveled to New York for a showing at Frank

Bustamante Gallery in Soho earlier this year.

In the show the painted canvases, in their blue and green tones, provided a counterpoint to the harsh blackness of Roederer's centerpiece sculpture. Roederer applies paint thickly to the canvas surface of these works, however, their gloppy texture always referring back to the viscous physical quality of crude oil.

Across the paintings swim aquatic skeletons that could represent the ancient fossils from which oil is derived or modern-day dolphins suffocated by encroaching oil slicks. And, lest we forget who orchestrates such a large part of the business of taking oil from the earth (and often spilling it back onto its surface), Roederer frequently paints the unmistakable Exxon logo onto the canvas, altering only the last letter of the corporation's name.

Credit limit: In conversation Roederer emphasizes that he strives to make his art an active presence, one that spurs viewers to action rather than contemplation. The work *Memorial to Planet Earth* is a call to action rather than a simple artistic statement, he says. Roederer encourages viewers of the work to tear their Exxon credit cards in two and slip the pieces in the mail slot of the sculpture. So far, more than 50 cards have been collected in the piece.

The artist has most recently aligned his work with another pressing environmental cause, the felling of large areas of mature forest in the northwest U.S. Some of the same elements that drew Roederer to the *Exxon Valdez* catastrophe are also present in his new cause; the theme of the environment falling victim to corporate profitability remains prominent in this new work.

Roederer has singled out Charles Hurwitz, chairman of Los Angeles-based Maxxam Group, Inc., as the

target of his artistic ire. In 1986 Hurwitz' Maxxam Group took over Pacific Lumber Co., based in Scotia,

ART

Calif, in a \$900 million junk-bond-financed deal. Since the takeover, Pacific Lumber holdings of first-growth forest, including mature redwoods, have been systematically cleared, an action prompted by the

Sculptor and painter Richard Roederer doesn't mince words: "If these trees go, we all go."

profit motives of its new parent company, according to Roederer.

What I sawed at the revolution: The artwork *Holocaust* by

Chainsaw Charlie confronts this destruction. Filling the full surface of a five foot by six foot canvas is a life-size rendition of the bark of a mature redwood tree. The work is in a "frame" of circular saw blades, and "carved into" the painted bark is Hurwitz' name.

A second Roederer work, *Environmental Holocaust*, is similar in size and composition. Across the surface of the canvas stretches a white line, the same type of line used to mark the cut point in the trees Maxxam is taking down.

Roederer does not mince words regarding the merit of working to preserve such old timber growth. "If the trees go, we all go," he says. Not surprisingly, Roederer was a strong presence in environmental art shows linked to Earth Day this year. *Chainsaw Charlie* was exhibited at a group show at the Conejo Valley Art Museum in Thousand Oaks, Calif. In Fort Worth, Texas, William Campbell Contemporary Art is hosting a group show commemorating Earth

Day by exhibiting works of 30 Texas-area artists, including Roederer. Roederer will also have a show at New York's Stuart Levy Gallery later this year.

Roederer often puts his money where his mouth is. A portion of the proceeds from his Bustamante Gallery show was donated toward the National Audubon Society's conservation work in response to the Alaska spill. And William Campbell Contemporary Art intends to donate "a significant portion" of proceeds from its group show to the Texas chapter of Earth Day and the solid-waste disposal organization Fort Worth Clean City.

The exposure is particularly important for an artist like Roederer, not because of the usual commercial and career considerations associated with the art world but because his activity is afforded the opportunity to touch a greater sphere of people.

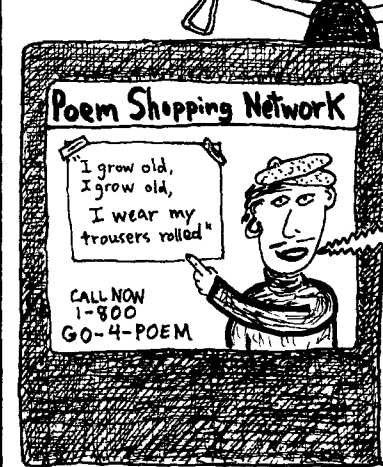
In Roederer's words: "The theory of democracy is a balance of power. Ours is failing because money has tipped the scales to become our survival's biggest enemy from within."

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Lauren H. Otis is a freelance writer living in Trenton, N.J.

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Sri Lanka

Continued from page 13

ment and rural poverty, even worse in the wake of the war. "It's very important that the government address itself to the political and social factors that led to the uprising," says oppositionist Chanaka Amarunge. Chief among them, says Amarunge, is an extensive political patronage system that controls nearly every government job and once earned the ruling United National Party (UNP) the label of "Uncle and Nephew Party." Letters of recommendation from UNP politicians, for example, are virtually a prerequisite for appointments and promotions in the civil service and security branches, all the way down to the village agricultural worker.

Political patronage, of course, occurs in every country. But the situation in Sri Lanka is aggravated by the country's high literacy rate, second in Asia only to Japan, and the estimated 400,000 students who enter the job market each year. "They can't go back to the village," says Osmund Jayaratne, president of the Federation of University Teachers, "because they feel above it. And when they look for opportunity in the towns and do not find jobs or find jobs less than they think they deserve, they feel rejected."

The most glaring example of patronage is the "job banks." Established during the early years of UNP rule, the system required would-be government employees to register for work. But the all-important forms were "notoriously in the hands of the ruling party member of parliament [MP]," says Amarunge.

Premadasa, to his credit, is now taking on the system—or at least parts of it. Earlier

this year he abolished job banks and is now pushing for merit-based recruitment for government jobs. On another front, his government also plans to reorganize the educational system to set up more than 20 regional colleges to offer vocational training closer to home. And the government is in the process of drawing up new election laws that will make it mandatory for 40 percent of all candidates in future elections to be between the ages of 18 and 45 years old.

Unfortunately, Premadasa has other problems. Having successfully stamped out the Sinhalese rebellion in the south, his government is threatened by the possibility of a new war in the island's north and east, where most of Sri Lanka's minority Tamils live. With the evacuation of Indian troops in February, the separatist Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE) are reasserting themselves and have taken almost total control of most of the Tamil areas. Two weeks ago, a Tamil MP who had opposed the LTTE was murdered in broad daylight in Colombo.

The toxic truth: "We're dealing with a systematic and complex problem" says the Peace Research Institute's Jayaweera. "On the one hand, Sri Lanka is a post-colonial society trying to evolve as a nation, and, on the other, the country is a colonial economy trying to restructure itself to cope with the rising problems of rural poverty and unemployment."

"The process manifests itself as ethnic violence on one side and the JVP on the other," he continues. "The current preoccupation with violence and body counts is like complaining about the smell of a festering wound, when the problem is not the smell but the toxic substances that cause the infection."

The violence that gripped southern Sri Lanka is now coming to an end. The roadblocks and security checks are gone and so is the "midnight knock." Foreign investors are showing interest in the country again. European tourist agents have already booked most of the island's hotels for the fall season. And chances are good that next month's rains will wash away the black charcoal stains still seen on the roads and beaches of a country once known to ancient mariners as "Serendib."

John Colmey is a freelance journalist based in Colombo.

CALENDAR

NEW YORK

May 28-29

THE NEW YORK MARXIST SCHOOL
MONDAY, MAY 28—Eric Canaepa and Keitha Fine; Political Change in Eastern Europe: Recent Visitors Report; 8 p.m. \$5.
TUESDAY, MAY 29—Reading of works written by participants in Sal Salasin's NYMS Poetry Workshop; 8 p.m.; Free.
End of Spring term. Upcoming: July 3-15—Theater of the Oppressed workshop with Augusto Boal; July 16-27—NYMS Summer Intensive in Marxist Theory.
All events take place at the New York Marxist School, 79 Leonard St., New York, NY 10011, (212) 941-0332.

ATLANTA, GA

May 31-June 3

Men Stopping Violence announces the 15th Conference on Men and Masculinity (of the National Organization for Changing Men): ENDING MEN'S VIOLENCE: *Pathways to a Gender-Just World*, at the Oglethorpe University. Bell Hooks, Kathleen Carlin and John Stoltenberg are the keynote speakers. Several workshops and discussion groups are planned, and entertainment is featured on Thursday through Saturday nights. For information and registration, contact M&M Conference, c/o Men Stopping Violence, 1020 DeKalb Ave. #25, Atlanta, GA 30307, (404) 688-1376.

HEMPSTEAD, NY

June 7-9

THE ENVIRONMENT: GLOBAL PROBLEMS-LOCAL SOLUTIONS will examine such important issues as air quality, vessel-based oil spills, environmental health, solid waste, acid rain, global warming and media & the environment. Richard A. Falk, Director, Center for International Studies, Princeton; Kenneth Boulding, Institute of Behavioral Sciences; and George Masters Woodwell, Director, Woods Hole Research Center, are featured. A special panel/workshop on USSR and the environment will be presented by Alexandre Timoshenko (Director, Center on Ecological Law) and Oleg Kolbasov (Deputy Director for Institute of State and Law). Both speakers are from the USSR Academy of Sciences. For more information, contact Athelene A. Collins, Conference Coordinator, Hofstra University, Hempstead, NY 11550, (516) 560-5669/5670.

WASHINGTON, DC

June 9-10

GUATEMALA IN THE '90S: The Struggle for Democracy in a Country at War. A national conference featuring noted media critic ALEXANDER COCKBURN and indigenous leader RIGOBERTA MENCHU. At the American University. For more information, contact: NISGUA, 1314 14th St. NW, Washington, DC 20005. Phone: (202) 483-0050.

June 10

MARCH FOR THE ANIMALS—Join us to send a message to Congress and the nation demanding basic justice for animals. This peaceful demonstration is intended to raise public awareness about animal abuses and increase support for animal protection. Movement leaders Peter Singer, Cleveland Amory, Tom Regan and others will speak; actor Christopher Reeve, singer Sheena Easton and actress Rue McClanahan are among celebrity attendants. Con-

tact Jane Rosenbarger or Rebecca McGinley, National Alliance for Animal Legislation, P.O. Box 2978, Washington, DC 20013, (703) 684-0688, for more information.

NEWARK, DE

June 17-23

Marxist Literary Group presents 1990 INSTITUTE ON CULTURE AND SOCIETY at the University of Delaware. The Institute will focus this year on the topics of CULTURAL ACTIVISM. Proposals for papers, sessions, study groups or other events are welcome. For registration and more information contact Phillip Goldstein, Department of English, University of Delaware, Newark, DE 19716, (302) 451-2361.

WICHITA, KS

June 22-24

Register now for Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Region II Biennial! For workshops and conversations with Mary Zepernick, president, U.S. Section WILPF; Charon Asetoyer, Native American Women's Health Education Resource Center, Lake Andes, S.D.; Jamala Rogers, National Black Women's Health Project; Maaskelah, African-American Community Organizer; Anna Spradlin, Specialist in Conflict Resolution; Ardelle Hough, WILPF Region II observer to Nicaraguan elections; Billie Knighton, WILPF Region II representative to U.S.-Soviet women's meetings in Moscow. Special Appearances by: "Jane Addams," aka "United States' most dangerous woman"; Josie Wallenius, guerrilla theater from Toronto, Canada, and more! Men are welcome too! To register, write: Melanie Shurden, Registrar, WILPF Region II Biennial, 5206 Pembroke Circle, Wichita, KS 67220, or call (316) 687-5866.

CHICAGO

July 13-14

Pledge of Resistance National Convention, July 13-14, 1990; Chicago (De Paul University). Participate in setting the political priorities, program and overall direction of Pledge of Resistance for 1991. Learn from /share with Central American activists from around the country; participate in workshops; hear well-respected speakers; be prepared for some fun! Call (202) 328-4040 or write National Pledge of Resistance, P.O. Box 53411-3411, Washington, DC 20009-3411.

LOVELAND, OH

August 5-11

A GLOBAL VILLAGE FOR YOUNG WOMEN at Grailville. Open to young women, 14-18, the week's experiential learning will feature global awareness, ecological sensitivity, women's concerns and spirituality. An international team will coordinate the program and will prepare a multi-cultural base for activities: study, work, art, music, cooperative living. For information and/or application, contact Audrey Sorrento, Grailville Programs, 932 O'Bannonville Rd., Loveland, OH 45140, (513) 683-2340.

SOVIET UNION

Summer 1990

WALK THE USSR! Join Soviets and Americans walking and working together for Peace. Russia: 7/7/90-7/28/90; Ukraine: 8/4/90-8/25/90; and Kazakhstan: 9/1/90-9/22/90. For more information, call or write International Peace Walk, P.O. Box 2958, San Rafael, CA 94912, (800) 541-6655.

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June 9-10, 1990

SPECIAL GUESTS:

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Committee for Peasant Unity

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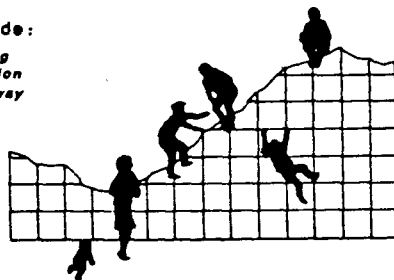
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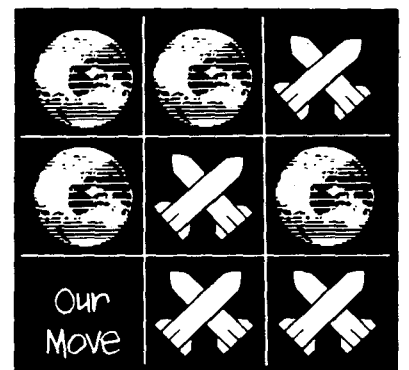
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—participant from the IBON Data Bank, Philippines

This year's institute runs from July 29-August 4. Costs are based on a sliding scale from \$200-\$650 and scholarships are available. On-site daycare provided; costs include room and board. The institute will be held at Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts. People of color are encouraged to apply. THE APPLICATION DEADLINE IS JULY 14th.

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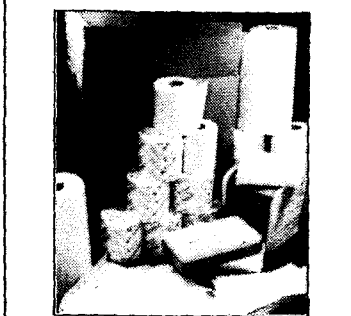
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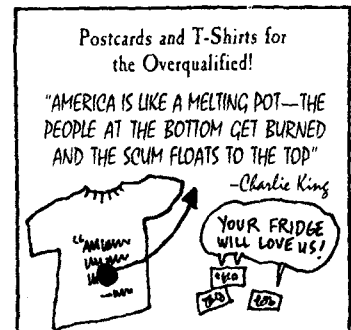
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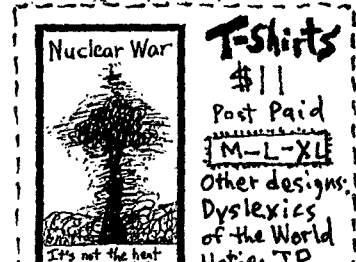
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a new war
inevitable
imminent
the population
of the United States
in the air, the sea
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balance of power
the United Nations
walk forward
no one's
seeking
men,
join
roads of the future
only
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men are equal.
have a dream
former slaves
sit down
have a dream
the state of Alabama
oppression
have a dream
four little children
not judged by color
have a dream
governor's lips
transformed into
black boys
black girls
white
white girls
have a dream
have a dream
every valley
rough places
crooked places
the Lord
hope
faith
a stone
hew

By

Woody

Igou

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To be, or not
question
is the
Or
die,
No more
sleep,
flesh
the thousand natural shocks
to
to
what dreams
When
give us pause
calamity
whips
scorns
delay,
The insolence of office
To grunt
dread
a weary life,
No traveller
bear those ills
make cowards of us
sick
with the pale
thought
currents turn
And lose the name of action
all my sins remember'd.

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a
proposition
men are
equal.
a great civil war
any nation
a great battle
can
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cannot dedicate
men
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The world
will
never forget
they who fought
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died
freedom
these dead
this nation,
government of
not
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the people

Editor's note: Our president's stagger-step elocution often leaves much to be desired, and one of our Florida correspondents has captured that halting essence in a black-marker *reductio ad absurdum* of four famous speeches.